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Churchill and the Chinese

Winston Churchill has been called the greatest war reporter of the age. Considering his superior sources of information and his two generations of rehearsing for the role, it should not be difficult for him to live up to the designation. But, whatever may be said of the soundness of his caution against over-optimism concerning the end of the war in Europe, his latest animadversions upon the war in the Orient left much to be desired. The Prime Minister noted, with perfunctory "keen regret," that "in spite of the lavish American help afforded China, that great country has suffered severe military reverses, including the loss of valuable airfields upon which the American Air Force . . . had been counting. It is one of the most disappointing vexations." This was the only mention of China in a long speech, save for a glancing reference, not without ambiguity, to the United States' "passionate desire to aid the resistance of China." And much of that lengthy speech was devoted to buttressing the incredible claim that the fighting on the Burma frontier, largely by the British Fourteenth Army, "constitutes . . . the largest and most important ground fighting which has yet taken place against the armies of Japan."

General MacArthur might question that assertion, and be pardoned for the use of florid prose in so doing. Still better entitled to contest it is Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, whose armies, for all their faults, have stood and died in the path of the Japanese juggernaut for longer, wearier and more hopeless years than even Britain stood against the European Axis.

Who Shall Retake Hong Kong?

It can have been no accident that Churchill ignored or belittled the role of China in the common cause against Japan. It was part of the same psychology that prompted him to saddle the Fourteenth Army with his favorite adjective, making it the "Fourteenth British Imperial Army"; the same psychology which closed the Burma Road in July, 1940, when the Japanese lacked the military strength to close it, and used British imperialism as their cat's-paw. To Churchill, and to the little clique of imperialists around him who still dominate Britain's war councils, America's "passionate desire to aid the resistance of China" must indeed be galling, for with adequate aid, the resistance of China might take such a startling form as the recapture of Hong Kong from the Japanese. And the imperialists wish to reserve that honor for an imperial army.

Nothing could be more unfair than to belittle the Fourteenth Army's fight in Burma—nothing, that is, except Churchill's own unfairness to the Chinese. There has been only a handful of American combat troops engaged in Burma, a fact which is not readily apparent from American newspaper headlines. There have been six times as many Chinese as Americans, and three times as many British (including Indians and West Africans) as Chinese. These armies, one under General Stilwell and one under Lieutenant-General Sir W. J. Slim, have fought at the end of a long and tenuous supply line, under impossible climatic and health conditions. They have been denied the benefit of parallel amphibious operations on the Burma coast because, as Admiral Mountbatten disclosed, landing craft origi-

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nally allocated to him were diverted to the Mediterranean.

Japan Gains Time

But no extenuating circumstances can alter the hard military fact that operations in Burma to date have not reopened a supply route to China, and have not diverted a single Japanese division from the forces opposing China's gallant "rabble in arms." The result of this, coupled with increasing pressure by Admiral Nimitz from the east, has been an intensified Japanese drive to close the gap between Hankow and Canton. They are now within a hair's breadth of success. However little this may mean to Churchill, it means much to the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, who must shoulder the main burden of planning Japan's defeat.

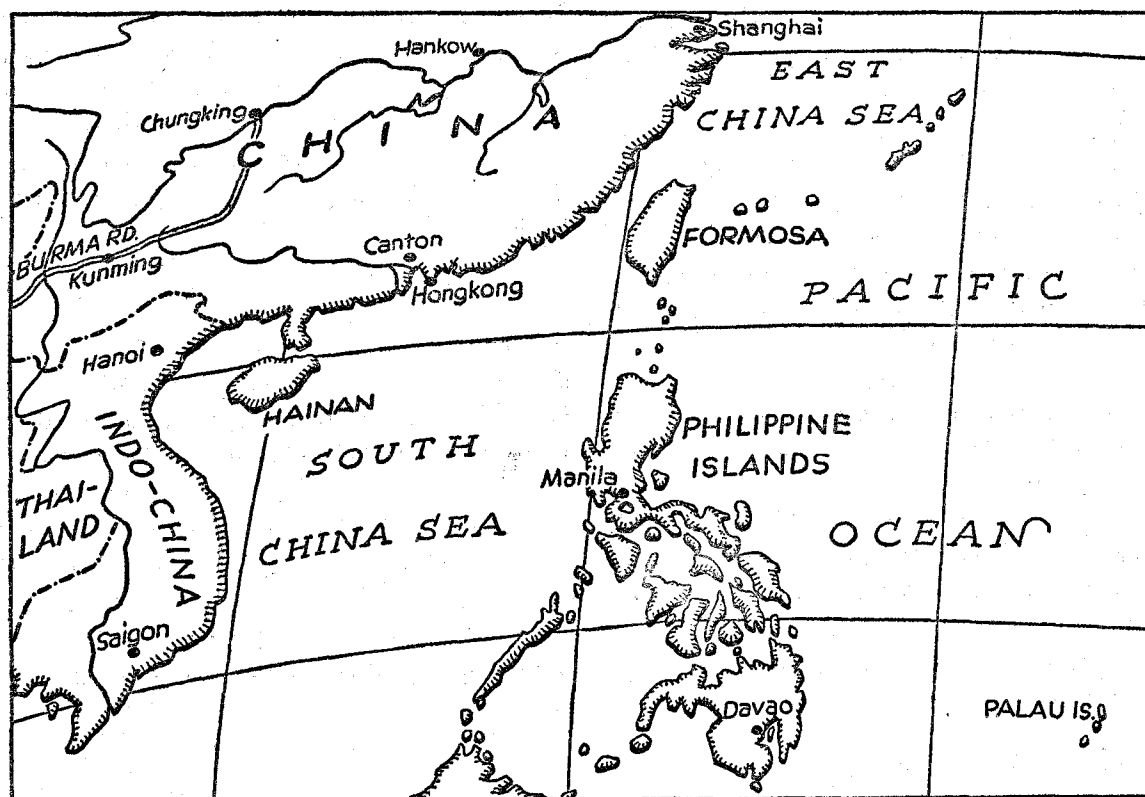
Now that Palau is being reduced, the way is clear for MacArthur's return to the Philippines. If the Japanese had not tightened their grip on southeast China, a move in that direction from Luzon might have been made without further preliminaries. But with Major-General Chennault's fliers driven back from the coast, it may now be necessary to undertake other costly, intermediate operations. The possibility of clamping a stranglehold on Japan's shipping jugular, at the narrow northern end of the South China Sea, also has been postponed, thus prolonging the ability to resist of Japanese garrisons facing MacArthur in the

islands and Mountbatten in southeast Asia. The war in the Orient is one war, indivisible, and a setback on the China front today ensures harder fighting tomorrow for Americans, Chinese—and Britons.

Against this background, the OWI warning that after the defeat of Germany, one and a half to two years must be considered an absolute minimum for the defeat of Japan, was most timely. And the reminder that the Japanese army, with 4,000,000 men now under arms, has almost as great a number in reserves or uncalled draftees, should do much to temper recent over-optimism.

Germany Wants a Stalemate

In the west, the wheel has turned full cycle. When the Germans began the war, their great boast was that they had perfected technical means to revive the war of maneuver, ending forever the possibility of stalemates in positional warfare such as developed in 1914-18. Now that the Allies are ending the war, the Germans' great boast is that they have stabilized both their eastern and western fronts; that they can compel the United Nations to settle down to a miserable winter of trench warfare. It is too early to judge what merit there may be in the enemy claims, but it is not too early to concede that by their delaying tactics on both major fronts they have won time to improvise new defenses and to improve those already existing.



War in the Orient: One and Indivisible

Although General MacArthur's return to the Philippines is now feasible, with United States forces conquering the Palau Islands, the enemy must be credited with having made the more telling gains in recent weeks. His drive to close the gap between Hankow and Canton will seal off all southeast China and render more difficult the advance from the Philippines to the mainland, as well as the recapture of his southern conquests.

The Allied defeat at Arnhem must be balanced against successes at Eindhoven and Nijmegen in judging the efficacy of air-borne invasion. Viewed as a whole, the use of the First Airborne Army paid great dividends. The pity is that they were not greater, and for this, in the last analysis, it may be that the weather was to blame. If the Germans succeed in forcing the Allies into positional warfare, the opportunity for further use of an aerial army will soon recur. There is also the disturbing possibility that in "V-3" the Germans have a more dangerous weapon than scoffing counter-propagandists are willing to admit. If so, the Germans have all the more reason to force a stalemate at the frontiers, and the Allies all the more reason to avoid one.

Dumbarton Oaks

The press, which dearly loves a fight, has headlined the disagreements at Dumbarton Oaks between the Russians on one side and the British and Americans on the other. Such disagreements certainly do exist; but so far as we can judge, they are far less important than the things on which the powers are all agreed. They agree that we should have a new league; that it shall consist of a council of eleven members and an assembly of all the United Nations and, later on, neutrals and enemy countries. They agree that future efforts at aggression shall be put down by force, to which the powers shall contribute in accordance with their strength and their geographical position. They agree on efforts at arbitration and conciliation, including a World Court. They disagree on the question whether one of the powers on the council shall be allowed to vote on sanctions in a dispute to which it is a party. This is a serious issue, but however it is settled, it is likely to look small in the perspective of history.

We are again in danger, as so often in the past, of being bogged down in technical details when our real dangers are far more fundamental. Looming behind the Dumbarton Oaks discussions are graver issues. Will we make a peace founded on justice and therefore self-enforcing? Or will we create conditions requiring the continued use of force or the threat of force, for many decades to come? And if the latter, what reasonable prospect is there that the present alliance will hold together long enough for the purpose? Has the world, in short, experienced enough of a reformation to make another war unlikely? It would be a brave man who would answer this last question in the affirmative at this moment.

The Senate and the Peace

Senators Wheelers and Bridges oppose ratification of the world security organization considered at Dumbarton Oaks until they see what kind of peace settlement will be established. Their position is that they do not wish to have the United States committed to protection of a world settlement which may be unjust

and unstable. This was the argument effectively used against membership of this country in the League of Nations, by those who opposed the Treaty of Versailles.

If one takes this argument at face value, there are a number of good rejoinders. If we wait until everyone is satisfied with the adjustment of boundaries, colonies and all the rest before organizing to prevent future aggression, we shall wait forever. Furthermore, the Dumbarton Oaks conference did not content itself with planning police measures; it also considered machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes. There is no reason to suppose that the immediate outcome of the war will be final and inflexible. There probably will not be any peace treaty with the enemy this time; many problems will be worked out during a transitional period. Finally, the alternative apparently favored by the Senators is that any nation which is dissatisfied shall be encouraged to take the law into its own hands, as Germany has done.

There is, however, no need to take Senator Wheeler's argument at face value. He has long been an irreconcilable isolationist, who would be sure to find some ground for opposing any suggestion for international organization. Knowledge that this is true of many Senators has led to the proposal that future treaties be ratified by a majority in the Senate, instead of by a two-thirds vote. It is striking that in response to a poll on this proposal conducted by The New York Times, most of the Democratic Senators who answered favored it, while only two Republican Senators did so. This suggests that the Republicans at least wish to keep the way wide open for isolationism. It also reinforces the need to vote for the right senatorial candidates, which is emphasized in the article in this issue by James Loeb Jr.

UNRRA for Italy

The Roosevelt-Churchill statement on Italy, though belated, is gratifying and refreshing. It is a good omen both for the future of Italy and of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. As far as Italy is concerned, the statement announces that "first and immediate considerations are the relief of hunger and sickness and fear." Until now, in spite of the gravity of the food and health situation, Italy has not been treated as an emergency-relief problem. The Allied Control Commission was not authorized to do rehabilitation work. UNRRA was theoretically limited to relief functions in liberated United Nations countries.

It was undoubtedly Brigadier-General William O'Dwyer's first-hand report of the Italian food and health situation which brought about the change. He told the President that widespread disease and disorder could only be avoided if immediate steps were taken to increase the basic rations of the entire population.

Clothing and shelter have to be provided for vast numbers of persons thrown out of work or homeless because of the destruction of towns, the stoppage of public services and industrial disintegration caused by lack of raw materials, power and machinery.

As far as UNRRA is concerned, the instructions issued by Roosevelt and Churchill to American and British delegates at the recent Montreal conference, favoring the sending of medical aid and other essential supplies to Italy, dispel earlier fears that UNRRA would remain a paper organization. UNRRA has already provided \$50 million for Italian relief. Ex-Governor Lehman, UNRRA's director general, who is known to have threatened resignation unless UNRRA was made an effective instrument of international organization, has expressed the hope that the steps taken at Montreal would enable UNRRA to "do its job as a practical relief organization in a severely practical world."

Catholics and Venereal Disease

Venereal disease continues, even today, to be a grave national scandal in the United States. There are at any one time about 5,000,000 known victims of gonorrhea and syphilis in this country, and a million new infections every year. Many thousands of people are confined in mental hospitals because their cases of syphilis were not treated in time. Thousands of others die annually as the after-effect of this disease. Sixty thousand babies are born yearly with congenital syphilis.

These facts are all the more appalling because recent medical advance has enormously improved the treatment for both syphilis and gonorrhea. Penicillin in particular is highly effective.

A few months ago the War Advertising Council, working with the United States Public Health Service and the OWI, prepared an effective advertising campaign on the dangers of gonorrhea and syphilis and the fact that prompt treatment means an early cure. This campaign was prepared for use throughout the country under local commercial sponsorship. Now, however, it has been abandoned because of objections from various Catholic organizations, including the Knights of Columbus, the Catholic War Veterans and others. These organizations say that they have stopped the campaign because they thought the advertising copy should talk more about the moral issues involved. The net effect, however, is to leave the public with the impression that Catholics are strangely calm about the danger of venereal disease. We cannot believe this is true, and we know that among many Catholics it is not true. Dr. Thomas Parran, for example, is both a Catholic and head of the United States Public Health Service, which sponsored this campaign. We are confident that the last word has not yet been spoken on this issue.

British Plans for Social Security

The British government has now brought forward its own version of cradle-to-grave security. The American press has reported it in terms of a dispute between the government and Sir William Beveridge, whose own plan was published some months ago. In fact, however, the dispute is unimportant. The government proposals are somewhat more modest than those of Sir William. Nevertheless, they are far-reaching indeed, for a country in Great Britain's economic predicament. They go much beyond anything the United States has done. It is significant that all sections of British opinion endorse these plans, which embrace unemployment insurance, sick benefits, old-age retirement, free health service, widows' benefits, maternity grants and family allowances.

Social-security benefits are sometimes criticized on the ground that they attempt to make deep poverty endurable without doing away with it. Obviously, it is better to have everybody earning high wages than to give them \$8 per week for unemployment. But there is nothing in the social-security plans that militates against a high level of prosperity; through the Woolton proposal, Great Britain is planning to do far more than the United States now contemplates, to prevent recurring depression. The social-security plans are a hedge against disaster; at the same time, they help to make it less likely, by putting a floor under consumer purchasing power, even in hard times. Great Britain is breaking important ground, and hewing out a path that the United States must and will follow.

Politics in the State of Washington

Reports from the State of Washington indicate that the political race this year is likely to be close. In recent elections, Washington has gone Democratic; but 1944 may be an exception. Washington has permanent registration, so that the only people who need to register are the shipyard and aviation workers who have recently moved in from other parts of the country. Despite a brilliant propaganda campaign, supported by the trade unions and directed by an outstanding Washington progressive, Howard Costigan, new registrations have been disappointingly light.

Progressives in Washington are urged this year to vote the straight Democratic ticket, including Warren G. Magnuson for the United States Senate, Mon C. Wallgren for Governor and Hugh De Lacy for the House, among others. Washington liberals are centering their fire on the present Governor, Arthur B. Langlie, a Republican. Langlie has earned the hostility of progressives both by things he has done and those he has left undone. One bad spot which he should have cleaned up long ago, but has not, is the reactionary Board of Trustees of the Western Washington College of Education in Bellingham. This group dismissed the

college president, C. H. Fisher, some years ago,¹ and has continued in the same illiberal tradition. The college needs a breath of fresh air, and so does the gubernatorial mansion. What Washington progressives need to remember is: you can't vote if you aren't registered.

Pearson on Dulles

Drew Pearson, in his syndicated column, has been publishing some startling allegations about John Foster Dulles, Dewey's adviser on international affairs and the man who will probably be Secretary of State if the Republicans win the election. Pearson says Dulles represented Franco in a case against the United States Treasury; was connected with Laval's son-in-law, Count René de Chambrun; helped the Swedish firm, SKF, to protect its American plants from seizure; favored unrestricted foreign lending by American bankers regardless of the national policies involved and had numerous international-cartel clients. A number of newspapers which buy the Pearson column refused to print these articles, among them The New York Mirror and The Washington Post. The Post, which in general has been doing a very good job lately, said in a front-page notice that it omitted the Pearson material on the ground that it was "a personal attack, unfair on the face of it." If the relation of a possible Secretary of State to Franco, Chambrun and many leading cartelists isn't a legitimate subject for public comment, we don't know what is.

"Cotton Ed" for Dewey

After all these years, "Cotton Ed" Smith has openly assumed his rightful place in the Republican camp. "Cotton Ed" is serving as chairman of a new group called "Farmers for Freedom." Despite its high-sounding title, it is just another of the dozens of anti-New Deal splinter groups formed to help elect Dewey. "Cotton Ed" is the latest front for the Gannetts and the Pews, who direct these groups from behind the scenes, and for their very active lobbyist friend Ralph Moore, who usually pops up in any new anti-Roosevelt farm movement. Ralph Moore is secretary of "Cotton Ed's" new organization. Most of its members were also participants in the National Food Conference, which Moore organized for Gannett in Chicago last year to launch a national food scare, or are associated with Moore in the American Democratic National Committee, which is attempting to disrupt the South for Dewey.

Americans United

It is very good news that the major private organizations working toward international coöperation have merged under the new title, Americans United for

World Organization. For years, throughout America, progressives have been confused and disturbed by the variety of organizations in this field which tried to claim their support. This new unity at the top should inspire an increased unity of purpose among all workers for world peace in the future. If you want to help, see your local group, or write: Americans United, 5 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York 19, N. Y.

What to Do About Spain

MORE THAN five years have passed since the end of the civil war in Spain. But the real issue of Spanish politics and of Allied relations with Spain remains what it has always been. Shall Spain be self-governed democratically, or shall she continue to be terrorized by a dictator who rules by foreign sufferance? In this respect it is quite immaterial whether support of fascism in Spain comes from Adolf Hitler, Winston Churchill or United States Ambassador Carlton J. H. Hayes, whether it comes in the form of Mr. Churchill's "kindly words" of last May or of 300,000 German "tourists," who, according to the Moscow radio of September 10, are still in the country.

There was a time when Franco's friends in Great Britain and the United States could defend his regime for reasons of Machiavellian politics and military strategy. With the liberation of North Africa and metropolitan France, with unrestricted Allied control of all sea lanes in the vicinity of Spain and with satellite after satellite deserting the sinking Axis ship, these reasons have ceased to exist. The United Nations need neither Franco's "neutrality" nor his economic and diplomatic support. From now on, a fascist Spain can only be a permanent liability.

Reports are trickling out of Spain that the Republican underground is ready to overthrow the Franco regime. In southern France an estimated army of 40,000 Spanish anti-fascist guerrillas, closely allied with the French Forces of the Interior, has hoisted the Republican flag over Spanish consulates in Perpignan,



Drawing by Eric Godal. Copyright, 1944, by Field Publications, and reprinted by courtesy of PM
"I will never divide America!"

¹ See The New Republic, June 28, 1939, or the Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, February, 1941.

Pau, Toulouse and Marseille. According to PM, the French government is favorably disposed toward the Republicans and has rejected a Spanish proposal, transmitted by Ambassador Hayes, for the disarming of the anti-Franco guerrillas and the policing of the French-Spanish border by Senegalese troops. It is obvious that Franco has the jitters.

However, over-optimism is not warranted. Underground activity in Spain has so far been sporadic and haphazard. Little is known about the coördination of underground efforts. If the Spanish Republicans at home are as disunited as their comrades in exile, there is not much hope for effective and successful resistance to Franco's still powerful coercive machinery. All this could be changed if the democratic powers would give a hand to the Republican attempt to get rid of fascism in Spain. But they do not. Only the Moscow radio has twice called in recent weeks upon the Spanish people to overthrow the Franco government.

Active Allied intervention in Spain is no longer a matter of recalling Ambassador Hayes or British Ambassador Sir Samuel Hoare, and of replacing them by less pro-fascist representatives. Such a step would do little to discourage Franco. Nor is it a matter merely of breaking all diplomatic relations with the Franco regime. This was clearly recognized by Representative John M. Coffee of Washington, long a close observer and implacable enemy of fascist Spain. Mr. Coffee has introduced in Congress a resolution in which he suggests the appointment of a military commission which will be charged with the task of getting arms, ammunition and medical supplies to the Republican guerrillas of Spain. Short of military intervention, this is the least we should do for the Spanish people in their struggle to put an end to fascism in their country.

Mr. Batt and Surplus Property

RUMORS, more substantial than usual, are abroad in Washington regarding a plot that is said to center around William L. Batt of the War Production Board. One such story has it that Mr. Batt is to be appointed to dispose of American surplus property in Europe after the end of the war. Another, which seems to us more probable, says on the contrary that he is to have this job for the United States itself. Congress recently passed a law dealing with the disposition of surplus property and putting it into the hands of a committee of three, hoping thus to get Will Clayton out of the picture. We are told there are some people in Washington who want Mr. Batt to do the job for which Mr. Clayton was slated. They hope to have Mr. Batt given a "temporary, emergency" appointment, so that when the committee is selected he will not only be one of its members, but so deeply enmeshed in the job that it will be practically impossible to oust him. He is said to

have the backing of Harry Hopkins, again tremendously influential at the White House, and of War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes and Bernard Baruch.

We do not know how much truth there is in this story; but if it is true, we think that the little conspiracy ought to be stopped. Mr. Batt is an able business man, who has done a good job in the WPB. Many of his recent pronouncements in the field of labor relations have been of a markedly liberal character. He is, however, head of the American SKF Company. His sympathies are certainly on the cartel side and his outlook is one which in general is strongly colored in favor of such business giants as the Aluminum Company of America, Dow Magnesium, United States Steel and Anaconda Copper.

The way in which so-called surplus property, amounting to many billions of dollars, is sold off in the next few years may determine the shape of the American economy for generations. If it gets into the hands of the monopolists and the cartelists, this will be a body blow to any hope of a full-employment economy in the United States. Yet the impulse of Mr. Batt, Mr. Clayton or any other "sound business man" will be to deal with such people, on the ground that they know the business, they have the cash in hand and they are a going concern.

It is highly important, we believe, that the intention of Congress should be carried out and the work put into the hands of a committee of three, who should be men with an understanding of the fundamental economic and political problems that are involved. Off-hand, we think of such names as Clifford Durr, M. L. Cooke, Maury Maverick or David Lilienthal. But actual nominations are less important than the spirit with which the enterprise is begun and carried on. If you agree with us, we suggest that you write the President, and send a copy of the letter to your Senator or Representative. Here is a case where America's future is genuinely at stake.

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The Next Congress

I. *The Chances for a Progressive Senate*

ROOSEVELT-TRUMAN *and* a progressive Congress. That's the political program of liberals throughout the country. It's just as simple as that—"and a progressive Congress." If we win, that's what we will have as the executive and legislative branches of our government for the next four years, crucial years of winning a war, making a lasting peace and creating a stable American society. If we lose

In terms of any down-to-earth, state-by-state analysis of the present political picture, the situation is unfortunately far more complicated than that. Liberals who are thinking of what America will look like politically during the next four years must face the probability that, even if FDR wins reelection by a fairly comfortable margin in electoral votes, Congress will remain under a bipartisan control almost as reactionary as that now in power.

At the present writing, some five weeks before November 7, the polls and the commentators are agreed that the President maintains a probable lead in electoral votes, despite the gains conceded the Republicans in some states. The Dewey campaign has been unscrupulous, cynical and, in liberal eyes, unworthy of a wartime election of such significance. But it has been well planned, machinelike and thoroughly efficient in terms of its objectives: votes at any price. The President has just begun his campaign, and his first speech seemed certain to increase his present predicted lead.

It is a fair generalization to say that the Democrats are counting heavily on the President's strength in many of the crucial states to carry their state tickets: gubernatorial, senatorial and in the House. The Republicans, on the contrary, are depending largely on the strength of their local candidates to put electoral votes into the Dewey column. Both parties are logical and realistic in this strategy, at least on the basis of 1940 election figures. As was pointed out in *The New Republic* of August 14, Roosevelt carried six states in 1940 in which Republican senatorial candidates were successful. It is not unlikely that this will be the result in an increasing number of states this year, since many middle-of-the-roaders may vote for the Commander-in-Chief and then cross the line to vote Republican.

In most matters, but not in all, the Senate has tended to be less antagonistic to the President than has the House. Democratic Party control of the Senate has been stronger than in the House. The present Senate contains 58 Democrats, 37 Republicans and one

Progressive. In other words, the Republicans need nine seats to gain control. On November 7, 35 senatorial races will be decided in 34 states. (Because of the death of Senator McNary, two Senators will be elected in Oregon.) Seven of these races have, for all practical purposes, been decided already in the South, where Democratic nomination is tantamount to election. While the results of these seven races will not change the party balance in the Seventy-ninth Senate, three were distinct improvements: Governor Olin Johnston for "Cotton Ed" Smith in South Carolina, Governor Clyde Hoey for Gerald L. K. Smith's friend, Senator Reynolds, in North Carolina, and Representative Fulbright for Hattie Caraway in Arkansas. Incumbent Senators Pepper, Hill, George and Overton will serve another six years.

Of the 28 remaining senatorial seats to be decided in November, 15 are now occupied by Democrats and 13 by Republicans. It is highly unlikely, although not impossible, that the Republicans will retain all their present seats *and* capture 9 of the 15 seats now held by Democrats, particularly since the latter include such states as Arizona (Hayden), California (Downey), Kentucky (Barkley), Nevada (McCarrahan), Oklahoma (Elmer Thomas) and Utah (Elbert Thomas), all of which are pretty well conceded to be in the Democratic column. Thus there is the possibility that even if Dewey won the presidency, the Senate would still be controlled by the Democrats.

Lest this analysis lead to over-optimism, it should immediately be recalled that a Democratic-controlled Senate and a progressive Senate are by no means synonymous. The Seventy-eighth Senate, with a large Democratic majority, killed the National Resources Planning Board by a vote of 43 to 31, voted to hamstring the TVA by 39 to 26, defeated the President's subsidy program by 36 to 28 and permitted a filibuster to bury the anti-poll-tax bill by 44 to 36.

On the basis of such roll-calls as these, it would be necessary for progressives, regardless of party affiliation, to gain a minimum of seven seats in the 28 races yet to be decided if the character of the Seventy-ninth Senate is to differ in any appreciable measure from the reactionary Seventy-eighth. The possibilities of making such a gain can best be computed by making a preliminary analysis of the chances for increasing the Democratic majority.

Since few commentators, even among loyal Roosevelt supporters, predict a larger electoral-college majority for the President than in 1940, when he won 449

votes to Willkie's 82, the most optimistic predictions can be reached by basing them on the assumption that this year's results will parallel those of four years ago. At that time Roosevelt carried 20 of the 27 states in which senatorial races are yet to be decided, including Oregon, where there are two contests. But in five of those 1940 Roosevelt states (California, Idaho, Illinois, New Jersey and Ohio) Republican senatorial candidates defeated their Democratic rivals. If the 1940 results are duplicated in November, therefore, the Democrats would win 16 of the 28 contested seats, or a gain of only one.

A less favorable conclusion is reached by basing the estimate on the most recent Newsweek state-by-state analysis (September 18), which gives FDR 267 electoral votes, Dewey 230, with 34 a toss-up. If Democratic senatorial candidates should win in all those states named as Democratic or "doubtful but probably Democratic" by Newsweek's analysts, the Republicans would win 15 seats, the Democrats 12, and one (Missouri) would be a toss-up, or a gain of two or three for the Republicans.

The Gallup Poll of August 23, which includes no soldier vote whatsoever, gives Roosevelt 286 votes to 245 for Dewey. Applying Gallup's state-by-state polls to the senatorial races produces a result almost identical to that reached on the basis of the Newsweek analysis. The two estimates differ radically in only four states: Gallup lists Maryland and New Hampshire as probably Democratic, and Oregon, in which there are two races, as probably Republican. Missouri, considered a toss-up by Newsweek, is predicted as probably Republican by Gallup. Thus, Gallup's estimate might indicate a gain of three seats for the Republicans.

This would seem to be sufficiently disheartening to those who assume a progressive Congress in the event of a Roosevelt victory. However, in view of the fact that FDR has so frequently run ahead of his ticket, we cannot confidently expect that Democratic candidates will win in all those states which the President carries next November. Some Republican gains in the Senate would therefore seem likely unless the tide turns strongly to the administration before the election.

Perhaps the greatest question mark concerning the Seventy-ninth Senate will be its attitude on foreign affairs. Will there again be, as last time, a sufficiently cohesive and divisive minority to block the two-thirds vote required to ratify the peace? Thirty-three die-hards can block the peace, if the entire Senate is present and voting; fewer, if there are absentees. While it is clearly impossible to predict accurately how individual Senators will vote on a peace treaty whose terms are still unknown, some indication can be had from an analysis of pre-Pearl Harbor voting records. Such an analysis was made recently on the basis of 16 foreign-policy votes from the World Court bill of 1935 through

the Connally Resolution of November 5, 1943. Sixty-one members of the present Senate will serve in its successor, including 35 classified as participationists, 14 isolationists and 12 doubtful. Of those whose terms expire with this Congress, three isolationists (the two Clarks and Holman) have already been defeated, and one (Reynolds) did not run for reelection. In addition, one Senator classified as doubtful was defeated (Smith) and another (Bone) is not running. Of those incumbents running for reelection, 13 are classified as participationist, 7 as isolationist and 5 as doubtful. If the 12 who are isolationists and doubtfuls are reelected, the next Senate will include 36 men in these two categories—more than enough to block the peace.

The picture as regards the probable attitude of the Seventy-ninth Senate on international affairs is perhaps not so dark as this analysis would indicate. For one thing, most of the participationists, with only a few exceptions, are fairly certain of reelection, while there is still a good fighting chance of defeating several of the isolationists. Second, several of the latter may have some change of heart; the increasing pressure of public opinion may well bring at least the "doubtfuls" into line. But the issue will be close; the chance for a lasting peace is at stake in every senatorial contest.

Even if we squeeze through with a Senate that will support this country's participation in an international organization, we shall not necessarily have a progressive Senate, because the internationalists will include a number of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats. Neither a Democratic Senate nor an internationalist Senate means a progressive Senate. We assume it to be a fundamental liberal conviction that no lasting world peace is possible unless the most powerful nation in the postwar world has a stable and progressive domestic economy. But unless these next weeks produce a pro-Roosevelt landslide, which is not now predicted, the Seventy-ninth Senate will not legislate a progressive America, judging by the records of the incumbents and the chances of those now running for office. In other words, the records and the mathematics are not encouraging. However, the political climate of any legislative body can be considerably affected by the electoral fate of some of its outstanding men, both good and bad. A Roosevelt victory by a comfortable margin, together with the election of a few fighting liberal Senators and the defeat of several extreme reactionary isolationists, might well change the character of the Senate even if a mathematical majority of progressives were not obtained. That is the great hope of liberals in so far as the Senate is concerned. With this in mind, here are some of the senatorial elections to be watched.

There are a number of close contests where progressives could suffer disastrous defeats, chiefly in New York and Illinois. In the latter state, Senator Lucas has as his Republican opponent a Chicago Tribune stooge, Richard Lyons. If Lyons should be elected, he would

undoubtedly be the Senate's most reactionary member, and that's a big order. In most polls, Illinois is conceded to Dewey, and even in 1940, when FDR carried the state by 100,000, Colonel McCormick's "Curley" Brooks pulled through by 25,000. Lucas has the advantage of incumbency, the prestige of his sponsorship of the soldiers'-vote bill, and residence downstate, but his opponent is an effective demagogue running in what is probably a Republican state.

The defeat of Robert Wagner in New York would be the most catastrophic of all. The logical successor to the progressive mantle of George Norris, Wagner is the symbol of New Deal legislation and his defeat would be accordingly symbolic. His opponent is Dewey's Secretary of State, Thomas Curran, who has campaigned almost exclusively on the "issue" of Hillman, Browder and the PAC. Believe it or not, the State Federation of Labor, which has already endorsed Roosevelt, has not yet decided whether Bob Wagner is pro or anti-labor! (Did anyone mention anything about supporting your friends and punishing your enemies?) Most observers think that the presidential election will be won or lost in New York, with the Republicans basing their hopes on the fact that New York has lost more voters than any other state in the union and has one of the worst soldiers'-vote laws. Victory in New York is as crucial for the Senate as for the presidency.

Representative Warren Magnuson, with a 100-percent progressive record in the House, has a tough fight in Washington against Republican Harry Cain in a contest for the seat of Senator Bone. However, both Newsweek and Gallup indicate Washington as probably Democratic, and Magnuson should win. In the doubtful state of Missouri, McKittrick, victor over Bennett Champ Clark in the Democratic primaries, faces bitter opposition from Republican Governor Forrest Donnell. Glen Taylor, the radio cowboy who defeated the other Clark (D. "Worthless") in Idaho, has an uphill fight against Governor Bottelfson in a state considered probable to go Republican. Taylor has been the Democratic senatorial nominee twice before and has yet to win. Although Indiana is likely to go Republican, Governor Schricker is given some chance to defeat the arch-reactionary Republican, Homer E. Capehart, in the contest for the seat of Senator Jackson, who is the gubernatorial nominee. In New Jersey a smashing Roosevelt victory, now considered doubtful, may elect Representative Wene to the seat vacated by Senator Walsh whom Governor Edison appointed following the death of Republican Senator Barbour. In Iowa, which is now solidly Republican, the odds are clearly against Senator Gillette in his contest with Governor Hickenlooper. Some commentators believe that Senator Elbert Thomas, the great Utah liberal, will have trouble, but the polls concede that state as definitely

Democratic and Thomas should win. The other incumbent Democrats are expected to carry over, including Tydings of Maryland and McCarran of Nevada, who have never been much help to the progressives.

With a Roosevelt victory in their states, a number of non-incumbent Democratic candidates have a fighting chance to win seats formerly held by Republicans. Representative Howard McMurray, whose record in his first term in the House is outstanding, can win in Wisconsin if the President carries the state and Senator Wiley and Progressive Representative Sauthoff, his two opponents, split the isolationist vote. In Wisconsin the Progressives were practically wiped off the political map in the August primaries, and the Democrats have the strongest ticket in years, with Dan Hoan, for 24 years Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, as their candidate for Governor. Representative Myers' task in Pennsylvania is made difficult by the fact that his opponent, Senator Davis, has a fair record on labor legislation and may split the labor vote. Bryan McMann is given some chance of replacing Republican Senator Danaher in Connecticut if Roosevelt carries that state by a wide margin, but the odds favor Danaher at the present writing. While Kansas is a strongly Republican state, Senator Reed has achieved remarkable local unpopularity. Furthermore, the Republicans of Kansas are badly split and McGill is given an outside chance of winning. One of the hottest fights is being put up in Ohio by William Pickrel against Taft, whom most observers credit with all the qualifications essential to make him the Henry Cabot Lodge of the next peace. Roosevelt carried Ohio four years ago, although Republican Senator Burton, an internationalist, won his election at that time. This year Ohio is predicted as Republican. Taft can be beaten, however, if the new workers in the state register and vote and if enough Willkie Republicans are mobilized into a crusade.

At least two of the Republicans whose election seems likely, Wayne Morse of Oregon and Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts, will replace Republican isolationists Holman and Lodge, and will probably also be less reactionary in domestic matters.

The eyes of all Americans will be most directly focused on the fight against Senator Nye in North Dakota. Having won his three-way primary fight by the narrow margin of 900 votes, Nye realizes that he again faces the fight of his political life. Conservative Democratic Governor Moses and Lynn Stambaugh, former National Commander of the Legion, are his two opponents, the latter running independently. Moses has been handicapped by a recent major operation which will limit his active campaigning to a very few weeks. He can win if he retains the 38 percent of the vote Dr. Gallup gives Roosevelt and if the 62-percent Republican votes are fairly well divided. But North Dakota has never sent a Democrat to the Senate. Furthermore, the conservative Republicans who helped put

Moses into the Governor's mansion in opposition to the "radical" Republican candidates of the Non-Partisan League, are now with Stambaugh. To confuse the confounded, the leader of the "radical" League, Senator Langer, is also supporting Stambaugh. One guess is as good as another, but it now looks as if Stambaugh were Nye's chief opponent, with an excellent chance of winning. In the Senate Stambaugh would be a solid Legion Republican, but anti-isolationist. In any event, Nye's defeat would be of national significance.

If Nye and Taft can be defeated, Wagner and Lucas reelected, and McMurray and Myers added to the present Senate progressives, the Seventy-ninth Senate will be far more responsive to the needs of the

American people than the present one, despite the fact that there will not be a clear-cut progressive majority. But liberals must recognize that they have a tough, perhaps an uphill, fight on their hands from now until election day. They must also realize that the big fight will begin *after* the election, when they will have to achieve increasing unity and energy to force through the kind of legislative program which can make a durable peace and a stable America.

JAMES LOEB JR.

This is the first of two articles on the congressional elections. The second, which will appear in an early issue, will discuss the possibilities for the House of Representatives. — THE EDITORS

China's Hour of Decision

ANOTHER SESSION of the Chinese People's Political Council has just been concluded in Chungking. Once more, as in preceding years, Council members heard government officials make promises of democracy and constitutional government, of stabilizing commodity prices, of increasing production in agriculture, industry and mining. But nobody believes these promises. Their emptiness is exposed by the fact that they have to be renewed year after year. Since 1940, at least, next to nothing has been done by the Chungking government to solve China's urgent political and economic problems. While they listened to the proceedings, Council members could read in the papers that the retail price index for August was 441 times that of the prewar level of June, 1937.

Yet the session was probably the most critical in the Council's history. Although it has no executive or legislative powers whatsoever, the Council has become China's most articulate sounding-board. Government corruption and inefficiency were denounced. Improvements in the conscription system were demanded. And most important, perhaps, for the first time the problem of relations between Kuomintang-controlled and Communist-controlled China was openly discussed. There was a general feeling that all demands and all promises would come to naught unless that issue was settled. Indeed, its solution has become the test case of Chungking's good intentions. What are the obstacles to Chinese unity?

The session of the People's Political Council climaxed a four-month period of futile negotiations between Kuomintang and Communist representatives. The basic point at issue was the general democratization of politics throughout China, demanded by the Communists as a prerequisite to settling the more concrete questions of administrative and military unity. Both sides have good reasons to insist on their respective positions.

The Communists know that without democracy their existence as a political party is jeopardized, once they have surrendered to Chungking administrative control of the regions under their influence and military control of their half-million troops. Chiang Kai-shek and the small group of men around him know that genuine democracy in China, demanded by the Communists, other parties and the liberal wing of the Kuomintang, would mean the end of their power which derives from the country's semi-feudal economy, with its exploitation of industrial labor, peasant debt-bondage, usury and governmental corruption.

In his book, "China's Destiny," Chiang Kai-shek declared that "the destiny of China depends solely on the Kuomintang." There is no evidence that Chiang has changed his mind since March, 1943, when the book was published. The plain truth is that Chiang does not understand democracy or welcome it for China. This fact has long been suppressed abroad, but has been vigorously exposed by the liberal wing of the Kuomintang. Speaking at the Central Training School in Chungking last spring, Dr. Sun Fo, president of the Legislative Yuan and son of Sun Yat-sen, complained that "the organization of the Kuomintang now moves from the top down to the bottom. The members of the committees of the provincial and municipal headquarters, for instance, are appointed by the central party headquarters. The organization of the Kuomintang has thus become a governmental or even bureaucratic organization contrary to the spirit of democracy."

The Kuomintang, Dr. Sun Fo charged, has assumed the attitude of a ruling caste: "I feel strongly that to realize democracy in this state, we must first democratize the Kuomintang." But as long as the Kuomintang is undemocratic, the existence of the Communist Party and its strong military forces is the chief, if not the sole, guarantee against fascism in China. And as long as Chiang Kai-shek can stave off agreement with the

Communists, an agreement possible only along democratic lines, he can prevent any important increase in China's very small degree of democracy in the near future.

There is only one standard by which to measure the claims and counter-claims of both sides. It is not, as Chungking would like to have us believe, the standard of military efficiency in the war against Japan by which the respective demands must be measured, but the standard of democracy. Unstinted praise has been accorded China's valiant troops for their courage and endurance. But the naked truth is that, in spite of Allied aid, Kuomintang-controlled China's military efficiency has steadily deteriorated in the last few years. Especially in the last few months the military situation has been extremely dangerous for Chungking. Since May, when the Japanese took possession of the entire Peiping-Hankow railroad, city after city has been lost. Chungking has tried to blame the Communists for the military debacle. However, there is much evidence that—aside from superior Japanese strength—the undemocratic nature of the Kuomintang regime is to blame.

Total war requires the total mobilization of all the resources in industry, agriculture and manpower a nation can muster. This Chungking has failed to do. As a matter of fact, since the entry of the United States into the war the Chungking government has greatly slowed down its earlier efforts to develop China's own resources, especially to replace the 90 percent of industry in Japanese-occupied territory. This in spite of the fact that free China possesses great natural wealth and a large reservoir of manpower. No efficient wartime controls have been established over capital, raw materials, commodities and food resources. The result of this ruinous do-nothing policy is inflation, profiteering, hoarding and starvation. It also helps to explain Chungking's military failures.

Chiang Kai-shek and his henchmen know that whatever may happen militarily in China, the war will ultimately end to her advantage if only because the United States is determined to defeat Japan. Meanwhile, American money, arms and economic aid seem sufficient to carry on the war in haphazard fashion. Total mobilization of China's resources and manpower is deemed undesirable because it would undermine the country's semi-feudal social structure on which the economic and political power of the Kuomintang ruling clique rests. It would lead to irresistible demands for popular government by the fundamentally democratic Chinese people, which must be avoided at any price.

It is against this background that the merits of the Kuomintang and Communist positions with regard to unity should be judged. For the Communists have done precisely what Chungking has failed to do. They have introduced democracy into the areas under their control and thus succeeded in building up an extremely powerful guerrilla organization. Without the active

and devoted participation of the people it would have been impossible to set up four "border" governments in northern China, some of them *behind* the Japanese lines, which perform all the functions of administration, publish newspapers, maintain a school system, operate industries, supervise rationing, collect taxes and give agricultural credit. It would have been impossible to put in the field the Eighteenth Group Army of half a million well trained soldiers, and to mobilize a crudely trained militia of about two and a half million men. These facts have long been known in Chungking, and they are known to the Chinese people in Kuomintang-controlled China. They explain the strong bargaining position of the Communists vis-à-vis the Chungking government.

Communist China is the closest approach to social and economic, as well as political, democracy that China has ever known. The Chinese Communist Party long ago gave up its efforts to introduce socialism and collectivization. The Communists stand today for what the peasants of northern China want: agrarian reform, good government and democratic institutions. They have strictly limited the number of their own party members to one-third of the total membership in village, county and regional governments, which are elected by secret ballot. All parties, including the Kuomintang, are permitted to nominate candidates for office. There is freedom of assembly and freedom of speech.¹

What they have accomplished in their own sphere of control, the Communists want to extend to the rest of China. They have achieved, through the application of democracy, both political unity and military efficiency. They have proved that democracy is possible even under adverse military conditions. Chungking has insisted that elections cannot be held so long as China is at war. The Communist record speaks for itself.

All this should be kept in mind in an appraisal of the recent negotiations between the Communist Party and the Chungking government. The Communists are not only justified in their distrust of the democratic intentions of Chiang Kai-shek and his regime, but also in their demand to have the issue of democracy settled before administrative and military matters are disposed of. Their demands for a coalition government now, for the convocation of a national congress to discuss national affairs, for freedom of speech throughout China, for the legalization of other political parties and for the establishment of local self-government, are not mere demagogic contrivances. They are meant in dead earnest and should be treated in the same way.

Where will China go from here? There are people who believe that she can achieve democracy under Chiang Kai-shek. They say that because Chiang is a

¹ I am indebted for these data to Michael Lindsay's report on North China, published in *Amerasia*, March 31 and April 14, 1944.
—H. E.

leader of men, not a dictator, he will lead the people to democracy if democracy is what they insist upon. This argument is a play on words. The demands of Chungking in the recent negotiations tell another story. They indicate that the Generalissimo, after having failed to suppress the Communists by force, is determined to get rid of them by cunning. His demand for a reduction of the Communist army to one-fifth its pres-

ent size, and his demand for the dismissal of local governments behind the enemy's lines, would not only play into the hands of the Japanese but also mean the end of Communist power. The Communists are right in rejecting these suicidal conditions. China is truly at the crossroads of democracy through civil war or democracy through peaceful constitutional reform.

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

Why Labor Is in Politics

WILD ABUSE of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee and the use of Sidney Hillman, its chairman, as a whipping boy by those who hate "that man in the White House" are biased fulminations, as likely to aid as to hinder the reelection of President Roosevelt. Psychologists may tell you that these anguished outcries signify that the opposition has, through its unconscious, discovered in the PAC something new and portentous on the American political stage and is powerless to thwart it. This appears to be true. There is undoubtedly a rising tide of political interest on the part of labor and, coupled with it, a growing realization of all that is involved in political action. This may explain the abuse of labor's leadership by the President's opponents.

All authorities admit that with the coming of the Industrial Revolution the workers of the world lost all but the barest modicum of their status as free men. Gross regimentation and dire poverty for labor became almost synonymous with industrial development. And the vast majority of historical events since the last decades of the eighteenth century appear to have had at their core the struggle of the workers for recognition and a better life against the fairly constant resistance to change on the part of the powers that be—both in government and in private enterprise. In recent years the issue has been clarified, and practically all over the world those who continue to oppose the legitimate aspirations of the workers have been forced to give ground. This has perhaps been especially true in our own country. Events of the past half-century seemingly give the movement which Mr. Hillman heads deep political significance. There are so many cross-currents operating in the path of the PAC that one cannot be sure at this date just how much of its high purpose may be realized in November. Its success, however, could easily be an event transcending in significance any election outcome, even Roosevelt's reelection.

To illustrate the tempo at which labor is approaching its industrial and political goals perhaps I may be permitted to cite a personal experience. After graduation at Lehigh University as a mechanical engineer in 1895, I began a \$2 a week apprenticeship as a machinist at Cramp's Shipyard in Philadelphia. Riggers and other

unskilled labor received \$7 to \$9 per week; bench hands \$9 to \$11; machine operators \$11 to \$13, with some few exceptional men getting as high as \$18 per week. Promotions were infrequent and were sometimes effected through the influence of the Republican leader of the Eighteenth Ward. What there was of a Democratic Party was operated, rather openly, as an appendage to the majority party. The windows of our shop were cleaned once a year: the cleaners came just before Election Day and were dismissed the day after. If there were labor unions, they kept out of sight.

As for efficiency, there was none. We discovered that our superintendent took noise as a measure of production, so whenever he came in sight, my instructions took me back of a battleship engine, there to beat lustily on a piece of sheet iron—a type of noise inappropriate to a machine shop. After luncheon my boss, a highly skilled worker in copper and brass, took a siesta in the low-pressure cylinder of the battleship Iowa's towering engines. Because the operator of the traveling crane could see us and might report to the boss, we made it a point each Friday—pay day—to tender him one or two drinks of Three-Star Hennessy on the way home. And so it went. Our advice was never sought. We were told what to do. We evaded where we could—and usually we could. The fear of lay-offs was so constant that shocking "soldiering" was the rule.

The years between 1895 and 1914 were those during which Frederick W. Taylor developed scientific management and brought it to public attention. In its early days the leaders of this movement, including Taylor himself, successfully sought to evade the problem of the labor unions. But as World War I hove in sight the conclusion had been reached that wholehearted and quite fundamental labor participation was needed if scientific management was ever to become a vital factor in American democracy.

My four years' experience in municipal politics as Director of Public Works in the reform administration of Mayor Blankenburg proved that it was easy to win a citizen's support by placing a gas lamp in front of his home and that the goodwill of a business men's association could be won by a few blocks of street paving. The cost of printing the Mayor's annual mes-

sage having been cut from \$18,000 to \$5,000, the typographical unions working in the politically minded printing plant where the expensive job had been done protested this effort toward economy and efficiency. These decisions and attitudes were based largely on special privilege, with little regard for the disinterested factual approach. Though Mayor Blankenburg's administration was generally conceded to have made a good record, the "gang" was swept back into power at the end of our four years. But industrially and politically a lot of eyes were being opened.

Pedagogues hold that, other things being equal, the most effective teaching is carried on in the zone of the pupil's principal interest. As a result of the gradual shift from agriculture to industry, the largest group of American voters now follow industrial pursuits. Next to his interest in his home, the interest of the worker necessarily is in the place where he works and gains his livelihood. This interest is not only continuous but far outweighs concern for politics. Even recreation is subsidiary to it. This, then, is the area in which respect for law and science and for orderly and reasoned procedures can best be taught. And so it has become clear that we shall never clean up our political Augean stables until we have made industry democratic by giving labor the widest possible participation not only as to execution but in planning. Very few would suggest at this moment that labor be given the sole direction of an industrial enterprise. But it is in the social interest as well as the interest of each individual concern that labor be given the greatest opportunity to contribute in every possible way toward its successful conduct.

From 1910 on there has developed in this country an ever widening interest in bringing labor into the play as partners in the common enterprise, as fully as possible. Otto Beyer, then a captain in the army, and R. L. Cornick, representing the organized workers at Rock Island Arsenal, worked out a successful scheme for employer-worker joint action in the United States Arsenals immediately after World War I. Beyer, with Bert M. Jewell of the Machinists' Union, widely publicized in the twenties the effective union-management coöperative plan developed on the B. and O. and the Canadian National Railways. Francis Goodell, representing the management of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company, a sheeting mill at Salem, Massachusetts, with John P. O'Connell representing the 2,500 workers, developed a comparable and satisfactory plan for coöperative effort in the late twenties. Robert B. Wolf's accomplishments in the paper industry, in bringing the workers responsibly into the play, have been progressing satisfactorily for more than 30 years.

The recruitment of Samuel Gompers, the head of the AFL, to this cause of labor-management co-operation was especially effective in view of the antagonism to scientific management which had pre-

viously existed throughout the labor world. Charles McCarthy of Wisconsin, returning from England during World War I, told Mr. Gompers of a shop which had previously employed 500 men and now, with a staff 95-percent women, was turning out three times the previous product. This record indicated there had been a lot of conscious and unconscious soldiering by the former staff. Such obvious waste meant a lot to Mr. Gompers, and even though he was approaching 70, he struggled to give the labor movement a new attitude and policy. His editorship of "Labor, Management and Production," a volume of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, together with his Foreword, attested this new faith.

The idea of labor-management coöperation has been increasingly developed since these early efforts, through conferences under widely differing auspices, discussions in the labor press, in college courses and at summer schools conducted by the unions. A number of solid books on this same theme have been published under union and non-union auspices. They stress the fact that no phase of industry is foreign to the workers' interest, and that the substitution of science for thumb rule crowds out management either by a caprice or autarchy.

Through the influence of this sequence of events, American labor has now become production-conscious in a way which before World War II was not to be found anywhere in the world except in a few isolated spots in England. This growing recognition by labor of production as industry's chief objective and, with it, the building of a better understanding between labor and management, is a fact of transcendent importance. As Charles Beard has said, "Our continual fighting over crumbs from a diminishing production is one of the most dangerous signs of the times." It is significant that William Knudsen, industrialist, and Sidney Hillman, labor leader, were joint heads of our war-production effort during its crucial period. The volume of our production in World War II shows what can be done when both sides pull for a common objective—and when there is no problem of selling what you produce.

Before this regeneration began, labor struggled for higher wages and shorter hours, regardless of the employer's ability to meet its demands. Today any union asking an increase in wages or shorter hours largely accepts the responsibility to prove that it can be done without jeopardizing the best interests of the enterprise. To assist in drawing up compelling factual arguments to support their claims, the unions more and more depend upon the professional assistance of statisticians, engineers and other technicians. One result of this type of collaboration is that organized labor increasingly makes common cause with the employer in the battle against waste and inefficiency.

The last, and by far the most significant, development is the establishment of thousands of management-labor committees in plants. In a substantial percentage

of these, the employees can bring up any question the discussion of which will aid production or otherwise better industrial relations. Hostility to such committees by unions is diminishing. A poll conducted during the past summer by *Fortune* magazine indicates that this movement has the endorsement of 70 percent of American employers. In all probability the joint committees which are making the largest and most effective use of managerial and research techniques antedate the request by Donald Nelson of the WPB of March, 1942, for the establishment of such committees in all war-production plants. Of the thousands organized in answer to this appeal, less than 1,000—possibly less than 500—freely discuss production as a joint problem of management and men. However, possibly the bulk of them afford a training ground for ultimate joint participation in the production process.

These joint-committee meetings give management an opportunity to see its own men in action, as well as to gain the benefit of labor's suggestions and give labor

a chance to raise questions in a way that is not open to the individual worker. In this process of free and open discussions the inefficient and the unduly troublesome are forced into the open with benefit to all.

It is hardly possible that men so trained in industry to evaluate their leaders will not ultimately use the same standards of judgment in sizing up political candidates, to the eventual improvement of the political hierarchy. Further, this new status granted the workers makes them more reliant on themselves as men and women increasingly competent to reach tenable judgments as to all manner of questions affecting both industry and politics. These facts now dawning on Joe Pew, Colonel McCormick, "Pappy, Pass-the-Biscuits" O'Daniel, and their ilk, are largely the cause of the violent outcries against the CIO-PAC and the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, both agencies full of possibilities for the industrial upbuilding of America. Both agencies warrant our strongest support.

MORRIS LEWELLYN COOKE

Germany's Slave Workers

THE HOUR HAS STRUCK for the army of foreign slave laborers inside Germany. General Eisenhower has called on them to take immediate action "according to the prearranged plan." He has warned them against unorganized resistance and provocation by the Gestapo. He has told them to leave their jobs and go into hiding. He has informed them that in certain areas workers of the organized cells "are today being provided with means for active resistance." He has encouraged them by concluding his message with the words that they, twelve million foreign workers, "can seal the fate of the Third Reich." What do we know about this powerful "fifth column"?

It was in 1942 that Dr. Ley, chief of the Nazi Labor Front, addressed a mass meeting of German workers: "I do hope that, at long last, you are growing out of that damned Marxist solidarity stuff, particularly so far as foreign workers are concerned. The line you ought to take with them is to stress your pride in being Germans." It was neither the first nor the last time that the Nazi regime showed itself painfully aware of the danger of fraternization between German and foreign workers, while the critical shortage of manpower required further importation of foreign labor.

As early as November, 1940, there were 1.2 million civilians, about half of them Poles, doing forced labor for the Nazis. This does not include close to a million Polish and French prisoners of war working either in factories or on the land. In 1941 the figure rose by only a few hundred thousands, but in March, 1942, there were 2.2 million civilian foreign workers, 1.6 million PW workers and an additional 300,000 Rus-

sian war prisoners employed on highways and installations close behind the fighting zone. In the summer of 1942 the figure rose only slightly, but in September a new conscription drive was started, and since then the total has been steadily rising, reaching a peak of between 10 and 12 millions in the summer of 1944. Working conditions and wages have fluctuated considerably. The worst treatment has consistently been that of the Russians and the Poles, who, even when highly qualified, have been paid less than the minimum for unskilled German workers, as well as being badly fed and housed.

To give a recent example of the other extreme, on August 24, 1944, the Italian press—that still within the Nazi orbit—carried a Krupp advertisement offering skilled workers a 5,000-lire bonus, good wages and special privileges. Another example of the difference in treatment is furnished by the Danes, who at one time were favored, as witness this report of a Dane employed by the Junkers Works in Halberstadt:

We work from 7:20 a.m. till 6:20 p.m. Most of us live in private houses with German families, where we only have to pay 15 Reichsmark¹ per week for lodging, supper and laundry. A meal at the works canteen can be had for 25 pfennig. Wages are from 68 to 78 pfennig an hour, which after deductions leaves 30 to 35 Reichsmark a week, with the possibility of making an extra 33 percent by piecework. Most of us can afford to send home 60 Reichsmark a month. When we get leave, we pay half the fare (51 Reichsmark), the company paying the other half.

¹ At the prewar rate of exchange a mark was worth roughly 40 cents and a pfennig, four-tenths of one cent. — THE EDITORS

This was in 1942, however, whereas in 1943—after the various uprisings in Copenhagen—the treatment of Danish workers deteriorated. On the other hand, there has been recent evidence of special inducements and privileges, such as facilities for marriage (even by proxy), permission to receive food parcels, and better wages and housing conditions—all of which are the result of the urgent need for not too unwilling manpower.

As to fraternization with German workers, the Nazi rulers have at all times done their utmost to stop it. Since 1941 this set of official rules has been displayed in every factory:

The German workman is our brother. The foreigner is the enemy of our nation.

A foreigner must not under any circumstances be entrusted with control of German labor.

It is strictly forbidden to talk to foreign workers except in connection with the work being carried on.

No works owner or foreman may invite foreigners to his home or sit at the same table with them.

These and a great many similar orders and appeals have been consistently disobeyed. To give only a few examples, Jiri Hronek writes in an official Czech publication: "They are making frantic appeals to the German workers' racial pride, and when this fails, the Nazis resort to threats, and severe punishment for making contact with foreign workers."

Or this London Daily Telegraph interview (March 4, 1942) by Peter Matthews with a Polish officer-cadet who, after his escape from camp, was helped to freedom by Germans:

The Nazis are afraid of fraternization with foreigners, and very heavy penalties are imposed upon Germans for acts of kindness. . . . Despite this official attitude, however, many Germans regard the foreigners more as fellow sufferers than as enemies, and they are surprisingly frank in their conversation. . . . Prisoners keep themselves informed of the true state of affairs by getting accounts of the BBC broadcasts from the Germans working beside them.

I have deliberately picked some fairly old examples, from a time when the regime's war effort was still prospering; but there is plenty of more recent evidence, such as various papers of July, 1944, describing how the Kattowitz Court sentenced two women to fifteen months and two years of hard labor, respectively, for showing sympathy to a foreigner, or the Münchner Neueste Nachrichten of June 20, 1944, reporting sentences of 1¼ and 2¼ years respectively for a similar "crime."

Significant too is the case of a Polish worker who was being cheated by his Nazi employer of a separation allowance due him, and who had the courage to lodge a complaint with the proper ministerial department. The German official wrote the employer:

The Pole is entitled to his separation allowance exactly like anyone else doing a job of work in Germany. You

have no right to make your own tariff regulations. Next Friday I will check up to see whether you have properly met your obligation toward the Polish worker.

The chances are that by Friday both these brave men—the Polish worker as well as the German official—were on their way to a concentration camp, because the Nazi employer had simply passed the letter on to Himmler's own Schwarzes Korps, which published it with the vulgarly derisive comment to be expected from that paper. But the interesting point is that soon afterwards (many similar cases having occurred), Hitler "purged" hundreds of "too soft" judges, appointed himself supreme legislator, judge and executioner, and let Himmler take a big step toward consolidating the power of the SS through occupying all key positions in the judiciary and the administration.

Nevertheless, the resistance movement and active sabotage in industry could never be entirely stopped, and here, too, there is considerable evidence as to collaboration between German and foreign workers.

The Belgian *Le Nouveau Journal* carries this story of a worker:

The work demanded from us did not come up to the normal speed we were used to. When we began at a good, reasonable pace, our German colleagues immediately interfered: "Why the hurry? Take your time!" We fell in with their tempo, but after a while we automatically went back to the more normal speed we were used to at home. Again our German colleagues prompted us to go slow, until finally we did get used to adjusting our pace to theirs.

There are many who, all these years, have underestimated the significance and power of the Nazi regime's internal machinery of coercion, while overestimating its genuine hold on the people as a whole. On an assumption that practically identifies the regime and the people, it would indeed be only right to expect their resistance to invasion to be as enormous as the material resources still at their disposal. But this assumption is disproved by the sudden crack-up, the speed of which was long predicted by those of us who have always refused to identify the people with the regime.

As to the 12 million foreign slave workers, no one ever accused *them* of loving their Nazi taskmasters. Yet, they too are only now getting their chance to revolt—getting it to precisely the same extent to which the coercive machinery is breaking down. This much is certain: millions of persons who have lived for years in a foreign nation—sharing with its citizens their workaday lives, troubles, dangers, anxieties, privations and what little fun they have—cannot escape getting to know each other pretty well or coming to have a certain amount of friendship and good will for those who were kind to them, along with bitter hatred for those who tormented them.

London

HEINRICH FRAENKEL

Washington Notes

Campaign Issues and Problems

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT will have made his Thursday political speech when this appears; Governor Dewey answers him on Saturday. Here is an effort to appraise the campaign to date.

Mr. Roosevelt will win if his side votes. The public favors him. But some can't vote, and others may not. Soldiers and workers are away from home. And apathy aids Dewey.

The President's amusingly perfect speech to the teamsters was tailored to rouse excitement. The speech was so successful it nonplussed Republicans, who control about 70 percent of the press. Governor Dewey swung back and the press had to talk about the "changed Dewey" much as they talked about the "changed Willkie" at about this same stage in the 1940 campaign.

Governor Dewey made the best answer he could. But make no doubt of it, the Old Champ had the best of the encounter. This week's second bout probably won't alter many votes; it may, however, intensify and exacerbate feelings. To the extent that it rouses voter interest, Democrats count on its aiding Roosevelt. His danger is apathy.

The election isn't in the bag. But I know one Republican poll-taker, whose farm magazine's quadrennial count has purported to show an advance Republican "majority" in the last two presidential elections and purports to do so again this year, who wants betting odds if you offer Roosevelt money.

The new prospect is that Dewey is going to strike out viciously, perhaps lose his head again as he did in his boomerang charge about General MacArthur, rely on the Communist bogey which he has already raised, and perhaps draw closer to the black-market political argument that "I-can-bring-your-boy-home-quicker." At present his campaign advisers are worried about formulating a speech on foreign affairs that will bring in The New York Times, the Willkie and Senator Ball crowd without specifically repudiating The Chicago Tribune, Hearst and isolationists.

The lame-duck Dies Committee is throwing itself joyously into the new anti-Communist campaign, and the CIO-PAC is, of course, the natural victim for the whole attack. It is about the only militant and effective element that the flaccid Democratic Party has left. It is hard to limit such a controversy to domestic politics when the issue is the old "Red Menace," and how our Russian ally is going to interpret the brickbats coming its way, already initiated by the Bullitt piece in Life and the Alexander Barmine piece in Reader's Digest, is anybody's guess. Millions listening to the "Town Meeting of the Air" the other day heard Benjamin Stolberg flatly charge that the United States Civil Service Commission had investigated and found 110 out of the leading 141 CIO-PAC sponsors Communist "party-liners." Last week the Commission denied this silly charge; it said it had indeed investigated 10 of the group in conjunction with federal job applications, but had cleared all 10.

Republicans are also doing what they can with the Pearl Harbor issue, which they are building into a queer kind of mystery, and Basil Brewer, the New Bedford, Massachusetts, publisher, is apparently working off some of his income-tax liability by inserting full-page advertisements in newspapers blaming the White House for the affair. The argument runs that Kimmel and Short received such "precautionary orders" along with the warnings of impending war with Japan from Washington "as to tie their hands," to quote Publisher Brewer. The only trouble with this argument is that the Roberts Commission, composed of one Hoover-appointed member of the Supreme Court, two admirals and two generals, brought in its comprehensive 10,000-word report of January 23, 1942, showing that it was not so. It is hard to see how the GOP attack on the Pearl Harbor line can get very far in the face of the Roberts report, which flatly says Kimmel and Short were guilty of "dereliction of duty," and shows why.

Senator Joseph Ball (R) of Minnesota urges that 11 "rabid isolationists"—8 Republicans and 3 Democrats—in the Senate be defeated in November and explains that 5 others will not be candidates. Thirty-two Senate seats are vacant. In some ways this part of the election is more important than the presidency. Either candidate, as President, must deal with the Senate, where a minority of one-third plus one (33 votes) can defeat a new league. Mr. Ball did not identify the Senators by name, but did not have to. The New Republic has published all congressional votes on Lend-Lease, Neutrality Act revision and conscription. The five already out of the race are Clark of Missouri, Clark of Idaho, Reynolds of North Carolina and "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina, Democrats, and Rufus Holman, Republican isolationist from Oregon.

That leaves the following 11, with suspicious or bad records: Aiken, Vermont; Danaher, Connecticut; Davis, Pennsylvania; Nye, North Dakota; Reed, Kansas; Taft, Ohio; Tobey, New Hampshire, and Wiley, Wisconsin; all Republicans, and Downey, California; Gillette, Iowa; McCarran, Nevada, all Democrats. Even if some of these men cannot be defeated, the pointed raising of the isolationist issue in their campaigns will be a salutary action.

Mr. Roosevelt denies the accuracy of the story that Secretary Morgenthau prepared a Carthaginian peace plan for Germany, stripping her of industry. Most correspondents here, however, believe such a study was prepared, if only of a tentative nature. Mr. Hull was irked at the presence of Morgenthau at Quebec, and his own absence. Tenacious Mr. Hull is a stiff fighter. All signs of the past week indicate that FDR is busy mollifying him and that the German peace problem is still up in the air.

The President chose the moment to support Hull in a ringing denunciation of Argentina, thereby taking his side against Sumner Welles, the ousted Undersecretary, who has urged that we try to win the recalcitrant nation over to our side by friendship and understanding. Mr. Roosevelt also made clear that he is not trying to supplant Hull with Morgenthau in foreign affairs, and in his open letter to Leo T. Crowley of the Foreign Economic Administration, specifically stated that the postwar economic control over Germany will be guided by the Department

of State. All this seemed to bolster Mr. Hull's prestige. The fact remains, however, that Mr. Roosevelt is his own Secretary of State. And Mr. Hull, like the others in the Cabinet, is getting on in years. The one thing, probably, that will bring Argentina to heel, if we want to do it that way, is to stop buying her meat. But England must have Argentine beef, or else buy ours; she is getting none too much as it is. Are we willing to forgo a large share of our remaining meat, experts ask, in order to apply the only positive economic sanction to the Argentine that would really bite deep?

A queer situation has developed in this election so that Dewey and Roosevelt are seemingly allies on certain big issues—against Congress. Mr. Roosevelt vetoed the Smith-Connally bill, Governor Dewey now repudiates it—yet it was an overwhelming and nonpartisan majority of Congress which put it into effect. Governor Dewey announces that he wants to broaden the social-security law (which Mr. Roosevelt already seeks). Who stands in the way? Why—Congress! The Governor has adopted a large measure of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy. But the stumbling block to acceptance of a world security organization, whoever is President, will be a nonpartisan isolationist coalition in the Senate. President Roosevelt put through the Wagner Act, and Governor Dewey, to the horror of many of his followers, on September 19 called it a "good and necessary law." Does this view represent the majority of the present conservative House? Hardly. The list may be continued. Some will argue that Dewey's conversion is not complete. But complete or not, there stands a second line of defense against change toward liberalism in America, the conservative coalition that now dominates Congress. It is drawn from Republican Tories and Democratic poll-taxers, and if continued in office it will thwart reform by any President.

Washington

T. R. B.

Mexican Master

AT THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM is a beautifully managed exhibit of the work of the Mexican printmaker, José Guadalupe Posada, complete with giant-sized copies of his work, photographic records of his time (1852-1913) and place (mainly Mexico City), and 600 of his more than 20,000 etchings and engravings. Both the gallery and the artist provided me with one of my most exciting and satisfying gallery tours.

Much of the wholesomeness and vitality exuded by this show is the result of the important role Posada filled in his Mexican society as a kind of all-around picture informant, adviser and educator to the people, the way he perfectly fitted the role, and the way his pictures were printed. He was employed for most of his life by the Antonio Vanegas Arroyo Publishing House to illustrate every kind of matter from news items to grammars, and since the illustrations were printed on a sheet of gorgeously colored cheap paper and sold for a penny apiece throughout Mexico, some of his pictures had a circulation of approximately 5,000,000. The illustrations were good enough to serve as very adequate newspapers and as extremely good art, Posada being the

perfect artist for the job. His desire to tell a story with the clearest realism never conflicted with that of making the best kind of art—and he had the greatest ability to do both. Posada made the people better aware of themselves and of the satisfactions to be found in pictorial art; he kept them posted and he gave them pleasure, and he in turn gained a knowledge of the people and the time.

His picture reporting showed a talent for choosing the most exciting moment of an event to illustrate, plus a fascination for incidents involving destruction. He was especially interested in showing executions and murders, which he depicted at the moment when the murderer's knife was on its way through the victim's throat, or just as the firing squad had emptied their guns. But he also leaned heavily on fires, collisions, accidental deaths, and he did two good illustrations of what the end of the world might look like. The titles in the show run like this: "Frightful Example of What Happened to Norberta Reyes," "Horrible Murder," "Terrible Fire in the Bullring," "The Wicked Ignacio Parra," "A Young Lady Throwing Herself from the Cathedral Tower." He was particularly concerned with the institution of prison—escapes, firing squads, sentenced men, prison chapels—where he often landed himself because of his militantly liberal pictures. His best work, in fact, occurred in a special form, called *Calaveras*, which were ironical illustrations of the living in terms of the dead, particularly skeletons, and in which he was mainly concerned with death symbols. But the *Calaveras*' excellence seems to come from their releasing him from reality and allowing him the use of more imagination in driving his feelings home with force and exactness.

The achievement in this selection of prints runs through all grades of excellence, from the most significant kind of straight, non-formal reportorial picture, to superbly constructed imaginative story pictures that have an awesome power, mystery and originality. A good example of the most photographic kind is an illustration from the "Ballad of the Crime of la Profesa." It shows a bearded professor being stabbed to death by three brutal middle-aged characters, and exhibits the amazing violence that marked everything Posada drew, where the effect tried for—by cutting secondary details to the bone, using the most brutal kind of contrast in line and tone, and the most forceful kind of photographic drawing—is that of hitting you with a billy. His photographic rendering of forms contains a number of his most important and characteristic qualities—the prosaic reality and strength of a rogues'-gallery portrait, a zest for each object, indicating the artist's love and curiosity for everything he drew, a perfect balance and unity whereby the figures in even his least designed pictures seem in perfect place and each records itself as a unit in action rather than splitting up into details of arms or legs. This picture also indicates the major use Posada made of a kind of shoe-blackening tone to achieve power, excitement and tonal richness.

"The Conflagration," showing the Mexico City fire department in its best fire-fighting form on a second-story blaze, is still straight news reporting for Posada, but indicates at his simplest his genius for pictorial organization. It has the most naïve-seeming, ABC kind of composition, in which the relationships are so exact that every space and line has character and movement, and is unified into a

satisfying whole that is good enough to serve for anybody's wall painting. The "Calavera de la Adelita" hits several steps higher in pictorial expression and is a good example of the artist's wonderful naturalness and his drawing at its most vivacious. Its design has a complete lack of affectation, inconsistency and stylization, plus an unrehearsed, unlabored quality that is the rarest thing in art. He finally achieved his maximum effect in the fullness of such Calaveras as "Huerta," "The Female Dandy" and "Don Quixote."

There are some qualities about these prints that should be noted. One is their extremely small size (many as small as a postage stamp and the average about the size of a slice of bread), and this obviously strained the artist in the direction of a bold, uncluttered statement, but I think it has a lot to do with the tendency toward small, closed, mean forms rather than open, expansive ones. The medium used—that of cutting in type metal—must also have influenced the expression. I should imagine it leads to the staccato movement you find in his work, the hard straight effects rather than soft, flowing ones, a sharp, cutting definition of form, and a stiffness all around. The most frequently used kind of rhythm is a jagged, horizontal one that accounts for much of the violence and virility of his expression.

MANNY FARBER

Science and Technology

Science in the USSR

THE SOVIET UNION believes the best way to encourage the advance of science is to give every boy and girl an opportunity to develop his or her potential capacities to the utmost. Large-scale efforts are being made to promote incentives to study, to achieve and to invent.

Besides free education for all, the USSR now provides scholarships for boys and girls to all the higher schools—these include food, clothing, shelter and incidentals. It is true that the scholarships are insufficient to permit purchases on the war market, but living quarters cost almost nothing and food is provided at prewar prices. Scholarships go to all students with excellent ratings, and to most with good ratings. The Soviet Union thus does more to make full use of intelligence in its children than do most other countries.

Since the revolution the Russian people have shown amazing ingenuity and inventive power. For instance, they were the first to develop and use parachute troops before the war, the first to develop the rocket projectile. Today their Katusha rocket gun is greatly feared by the Germans. Russian tanks have proved superior on the Russian front to those imported from abroad. Alexander Yakovlev, a 38-year-old son of the Russian Revolution, has built one of the best fighter planes in the world, with speed, maneuverability and fire power.

Georgi Babat has recently invented an automobile which receives its power from a wire laid below the concrete of city streets. The machine thus gets its electricity without contact with the wire. This may presage the scrapping of overhead wires and contact conductors.

In the field of agriculture, one of the most startling developments is the growing of colored cotton directly from the soil. Thus far many shades of brown and green

have been obtained. This cotton makes dyeing unnecessary and the colors do not fade. While the exact process is not revealed, I understand the cotton is developed by forcing the plant to absorb color, along with its food, from the soil.

In the field of medicine, Russian doctors have made remarkable discoveries. Professor Sintsin has transplanted the heart from one frog to another. The operation was performed with great speed through the frog's mouth, with little shock or loss of blood, and not much stitching. One of the frogs has now lived more than a year.

Two young scientists, Lanchinsky and Malinovsky, recently succeeded in placing a embryo tooth in the thigh bone of an animal and having it grow normally. They then took an embryo tooth from one dog and transplanted it into the jaw of another. It was necessary to have it fit tightly into the jaw and be surrounded with mucous membrane. The tooth grew perfectly and when mature couldn't be distinguish from other teeth.

Alexander Bogomoletz's work in developing antireticular cytotoxic serum, which stimulates the system through the connective tissues of the body, is well known. His serum has been widely used at the front, and found particularly effective for chronic tubercular and non-healing wound conditions.

To encourage such discoveries the Soviet Union spends colossal sums on scientific-research institutions. In 1944 it is spending \$1,300 million rubles. Additional expenditures on university and secondary training of specialists this year will reach \$4,400 million rubles. Compare this amount with that spent in the United States!

Soviet scientific research is conducted in several types of scientific institutions: (1) academies of science, (2) research institutions under the various people's commissars, (3) research institutes under the universities. In 1939 the Soviet Union had 700 universities and 908 research institutes, staffed with 26,246 scientists. Originally a large number of voluntary societies did valuable work.

Academies of science, both all-union and those of individual republics, are of maximum importance. Since space does not permit a full description of their activities, only the work of a few of their scientists can be mentioned.

Vladimir Komarov is renowned in the field of botany. Peter Kapitsa has received recognition all over the world, including the receipt of the Benjamin Franklin Medal from the United States, for his work in the field of low temperatures. Leonid Mandelstam has discovered the phenomenon of a combined diffusion of light. Nikolai Kurnakov has investigated the theory of physio-chemical analysis. Alexei Favorsky has elaborated a new theory of chemical synthesis and a whole series of industrial processes. N. D. Zelinsky is the designer of the first gas mask, S. V. Lebedev the inventor of Soviet synthetic rubber and Alexei Bakh the founder of Soviet biochemistry.

Everywhere, in factories and on farms, Russia rewards those who invent some process effecting genuine saving. The rewards are substantial, both in money and medals and honors. Many scientists and inventors have been made Heroes of Soviet Labor. Since the war, 1,059 scientists and inventors have received Stalin Prizes.

In 25 years the academies of science have sent out more than 500 expeditions to various parts of the Soviet Union to prospect for mineral deposits, to discover power re-

sources and to study soil. More than 300 scientists and 60 scientists' institutions have investigated natural resources in the Urals. They discovered more than 800 minerals and more than 12,000 deposits of various ores. A laboratory hypothesis about the western Ural soil, when verified in the field, led to the establishment of the biggest potassium industry in the world.

During the war alone the Soviet Union Academy of Science has been presented with more than 800 Soviet scientific papers. It regularly publishes 24 different scientific journals. Its library contains many fascinating reports, including A. I. Alikhanov's on the nature of cosmic rays, from studies made on Mount Alaghez in Armenia, and Strumblin's exhaustive analysis of the Urals. The main effort of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in 1944 was a practical one, involving restoration of the industry and agriculture of the Ukraine, badly damaged by the Germans.

The principles which have aided the development of science are maintaining inseparable ties between theory and practice: (1) Scientific discoveries if proved valuable are immediately put to work all over the Union; (2) there is a constant exchange of scientific experiments; (3) there is a spirit of collective working together among scientists: for example, a large group joins together in studying methods of combating rheumatism. Registering devices such as time-magnifiers and radium blocks have been invented collectively. The Institute of Ecology does interesting collective work in experiments on animal fecundity.

The Berlin radio recently announced that the reason Russia was winning the war was because she had surprised the world by using all her natural resources. What better tribute to Russian science?

Moscow (by cable)

JEROME DAVIS

The Bandwagon

Harding succeeded Wilson in 1921, coming in on a landslide vote repudiating all Wilson stood for. And in Harding's time we at least had peace and quiet and the start of an exhilarating if finally regrettable boom. We think . . . that life for the average American was much pleasanter in Harding's time than in Wilson's. We think the main reasons for that fact were that Harding did not feel divinely appointed to drag us into any war that happened along, and that his administration did not believe in meddling in virtually every department of every American's life. — *From an editorial in The Washington Times-Herald.*

Just once in each generation comes the triumphant moment for the beaded dress. Its sleek shimmer—its dinner at Maxim's mood—make it just the thing for this historic winter. — *From an advertisement of Bonwit Teller in The New York Times.*

The marine unit of 800 students at the University of Rochester was told today by Lieutenant-Commander William M. Neill, commanding officer of the V-12 unit here, that instruction at the University of Rochester will be discontinued on November 1. He also notified Alan Valentine, president of the university. — *AP dispatch from Rochester, New York.*

Harm Indeed

I condemn the President of the United States for selling out his party of great history and service to such a gang and I con-

demn Sidney Hillman for the harm he is doing the cause of labor in the United States. He is driving good Democrats by the millions into the Republican Party. — *From a speech of Governor Bricker as reported in The Washington Star.*

Stet!

With each group he [Dewey] has discussed fully and frantically the problems and issues of paramount interest to them. — *From The New York Sun.*

We've Heard That Song Before

Governor Walter E. Edge (R., N. J.) says that if the Democrats win the election six weeks from now it may possibly be our last free election. — *AP dispatch from Boston.*

Here We Go Again

American industries and American workers have smashed Germany. When this war is over it will have been won by the United States. American troops took our own ships, planes, tanks and supplies into France and Italy—and it wasn't long before the Axis began to fold up. This war, like the first one, is being won by the United States. We don't take second place to any country. — *An editorial in The Mount Morris (N. Y.) Enterprise.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Unemployment Insurance

SIR: War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes's report [September 9] again advocates much needed changes in our unemployment-insurance system, a subject which is evoking great controversy.

When our unemployment-compensation program was enacted in 1935, we followed the same private-insurance principle which characterized our original old-age-insurance plan before the 1939 amendments. We geared the benefits to the wages the workers previously earned, thus giving the lowest benefits to the poorest-paid workers who need the most help when they lose their jobs. We also grant the same benefits to single persons as to those with families. Moreover, once the short period of benefits is exhausted, the unemployed become nonexistent so far as our unemployment-insurance administrators are concerned. The Committee for Economic Development estimated that if our unemployment-insurance laws remain unchanged, benefits under those laws will not average even 15 percent of the wages which the workers in covered employment will lose during the transition period.

The administration or Congress should long ago have handed our unemployment-insurance programs to a committee of experts for study and recommendations, as was done for our old-age-insurance system before 1939. We should concern ourselves not only with emergency provisions for the postwar period but with placing our social services on an adequate basis to make them of permanent value in furnishing a minimum of economic security, when needed. We should seek this through systematic and relatively simple measures of self-respecting social insurance instead of through haphazard relief schemes. And the job should be done now.

Among the problems which merit immediate consideration are: Extension of coverage, adequate benefits with consideration for dependents, a duration period of 26 weeks, and for those

who continue unemployed after that time, some form of emergency benefits for an additional 26 weeks; also simplification of social-security taxation and elimination of experience-rating, and, since federalization of unemployment insurance is proving politically too unpalatable, definite standards of benefits and administration.

New York City

HENRIETTE C. EPSTEIN

Freedom for Nigeria

SIR: Citizens of all United Nations should indeed be gratified that our military gains in the European theatre of operations are simultaneous with the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. In five years of hostilities all nations have, I believe, become convinced that war is an irreparable liability both to the victor and to the conquered.

It is because of that realization that mankind in general, and the Big Four in particular, should make a united effort to eliminate once and for all the basic cause of international wars. I mean the theory that a nation, for the purpose of exercising commercial and industrial monopoly over another nation, should invade and suppress the political rights of others. As long as this selfish power politics is allowed to continue, there can be neither peace nor economic prosperity anywhere on the globe.

We, the United Nations, have liberated Ethiopia. We have liberated some countries of Europe recently occupied by the Axis. To accomplish this miracle, Africa takes its full share of responsibility and moral support. We, the people of Nigeria, in particular, having given our all in this common cause, propose that an extraordinary conference be called consisting of representatives of the peoples of Great Britain and Nigeria, to set a date for the declaration of Nigerian independence.

This colonial-freedom conference should be empowered to stipulate when Nigeria will regain self-determination. We are culturally so different from Britain that dominion status or the mandate system would not help us. Political freedom is the only status that could enable Nigeria to face realistically her crucial problems of education, agriculture, industry and expansion of foreign trade. Political freedom is a *sine qua non* to Nigerian national growth.

New York City

MBONU OJIKE

Workers and Postwar Housing

SIR: With peace looming not very far in the future, reconstruction at home is bound to include community improvements of a large and permanent nature and efforts to meet the housing shortage which, increasing during the depression, has been intensified by the wartime absence of new construction.

In the impending public improvements and in the development of housing projects and slum-clearance enterprises, labor will be affected as workers and as beneficiaries of various public and private enterprises intended to raise the present standards of our community life. There is today a shortage of not less than two million dwellings aside from the ten million substandard homes which need to be replaced. The investment in housing alone, if American workers are to obtain decent shelter, will entail expenditures of from \$48 to \$58 billion.

Much of this amount will be disbursed in wages and some in land acquisition and management. The character of these homes, their locations, design, neighborhood character, service facilities, and legislation determining costs, standards of construction, rents, interest rates, entail the development of national policies designed to yield the greatest benefits to those most in need of decent housing advantages. Labor has the greatest stake in this vast enterprise and it is essential that workers be prepared to

participate in the molding of these policies as part of the larger national labor strategy which is to be carried out during peacetime reconstruction.

New York City

DR. CAROL ARONOVICI,
Jefferson School of Social Science

From The New Republic Mail Bag

M. S. J., a sailor, writes that the attitude of many servicemen toward the war is a combination of "bitterness, disgust, and now, harsh anger." He says the anger is a new feeling:

It had a quiet, cunning inception no one knows quite where, but the reasons for it are public property by now. I first felt it when I read the words of Secretary Stimson, words strangely foreign and odd-sounding to us, terrible words that any one of us would not even have dared whisper. Yet these words were shouted, published, inseminated into the population, and came from right back home, where we started from, where we hoped to return, where we hoped to live when this hell was through. That was why we got angry. The words were: "We must not accept the philosophy that this war will end all wars and that there will never again be a resort to arms. . . . The terrible lessons of this war should convince every thoughtful American that reasonable military preparedness is the only means by which the peace and security of the nation can be maintained."

We don't mind being mad at the enemy; that is expected of us, and useful besides. Nor do we mind being angry at ourselves for not doing better; that kind of anger is also useful. But the effect of finding oneself vehemently incensed against one's own leaders is demoralizing, it breaks a man's spirit, it drives him to despair, and it makes him quit. If the bigwigs in Washington want to glory in another war, for the love of God, let them at least be tactful about presenting it; if they want to send us—but it would be our kids next time—into another slaughter, let them at least have the decency to afford us the pleasure of making an effort to avoid another war; after all, a man has a right to get drunk on Saturday night.

In an "Open Letter to Lillian Smith," Emory L. King of Ridgefield Park, New Jersey, deals with the psychological tendencies which foster the racial segregation Miss Smith attacks in her recent article, "Addressed to White Liberals" [The New Republic, September 18]. Mr. King says "The color consciousness of whites is exceeded only by the color consciousness of Negroes." He says any "attempt to overcome unreasonable disparity" between races is confused by "an intangible something of self-consciousness on the part of any disapproved and disparaged fraction of humanity."

Abba P. Lerner, New York City, writes in answer to a comment from Pvt. H. H. [The New Republic Mailbag, September 11] regarding the Liberal Party's "compromise with 'so-called' free enterprise." Mr. Lerner says the Liberal Party makes no compromise with monopoly, but rather aims at "the establishment of conditions which will work for the survival in each part of our economy of that form of enterprise, private or public, which is able to serve society best." The Liberal Party understands, he continues, that the term "free enterprise" implies that *all* enterprise is free, public as well as private.

The Textile Workers' Union of America (CIO) has issued a pamphlet entitled "Half a Million Forgotten People," which describes the economic plight of the cotton-textile workers. The union is now petitioning the War Labor Board for a wage increase for this group, which it claims is the lowest paid in American industry. Textile workers get an average hourly wage of 59.4 cents, as compared with \$1.32 for workers in shipbuilding.

New Republic readers in Southern California are notified that a Southern California branch of the National Citizens' Political Action Committee has now been opened, at 427 N. Canon Drive, Beverly Hills.

Books in Review

Brooks in Progress

INTERESTING as it is in itself, and full of curious facts, "The World of Washington Irving"¹ suffers by comparison with the two books that preceded it in the same series. Each of Van Wyck Brooks's earlier histories was a flowing narrative with a beginning, a middle and an end. Thus, in "The Flowering of New England," the story began with the year 1815, during what Charles Francis Adams called the ice age of Massachusetts; but the ice was already cracking then, and soon there would be south winds and early flowers. Concord in the forties and fifties, as Brooks described it, was a glorious midsummer idyll; and the book ended with the best fruits harvested and a feeling of early frost in the air. "New England: Indian Summer" went through a different progression, from Boston's autumnal triumph in the long reign of Dr. Holmes to another wintry age, when feeling congealed into good taste and imagination into scholarship. Boston during the nineties was "sorting its papers," Brooks said, "like a man who is dying, anxious to arrange his affairs." But the end of the story was a chapter called "Second March," in which he described the new writers who were carrying on the tradition of their forebears by rebelling against it, as the forebears had done in their time. Both books had the same hero: not an individual, but the spirit of New England as revealed in its literature and in the lives of its writers. Both being centered in Boston, they had unity of place.

This new book, however, was much more difficult for the author to unify, since it had to deal with the literary life, not of one region, but of the country as a whole. Its scene shifts from Philadelphia, which was the first literary capital, to New York, which was the second (as Boston would be the third); then it shifts again to London, Paris and Madrid, where Cooper and Irving wrote some of their best books (which incidentally were published first in London, to gain the advantage of British copyright). Other chapters deal with the South, which had four literary centers of its own—Baltimore, Richmond, Charleston, New Orleans—and each of these is mentioned in its turn. Still other chapters discuss the West, which already had some intellectual life, but which was chiefly a subject for travel books and folklore. Tracing the stream of literature from its source, the author moves in zigzags from one tributary to another. His narrative starts with the year 1800, which marked no literary beginnings, and it ends in 1840, which was not the close of any distinct period. It is true that the four intervening decades were the age of Washington Irving, our first successful man of letters; but Irving was too amiable to serve as their focus or as anything else except a mildly diffused light.

The period as a whole does not fire Brooks's imagination, as did the rise and decline of New England; this time his

sentences seldom glow with moral feeling or crackle with wit. There is nothing so good here as his judgment on the early New England poets: "It was their unconsidered dash and go that carried them all into the void together." He feels only a temperate admiration for Irving and Cooper and Bryant, those "relatively eminent writers," as he calls them; and the phrase makes you suspect that he might have preferred to let the rude forefathers of the nation sleep. Moreover, he was venturing into a wilderness where other scholars had recently been digging among the ruins of vanished reputations, like archeologists in Yucatan. Brooks went digging in his turn, until presently he was faced with an immense accumulation of facts, which he could neither put aside nor wholly fit into his picture. The result is that he mentions too many names, gives too much attention to little people, and thereby distracts us from the men who might have been his heroes.

One example of this cluttered composition, among many others, is a chapter called "New York: Bryant." It consists of twenty-eight pages. It begins with the Bread and Cheese Club, founded by Cooper and including among its members Samuel F. B. Morse, the portrait painter who invented the telegraph, Asher B. Durand, the steel engraver, and Gulian C. Verplanck, the pompous essayist; all these are described on the first page. Next come two pages of general description, with incidental mention of the painter John Vanderlyn and the bogus Baron von Hoffmann. Then the names begin to march in single file: Governor De Witt Clinton (one page), Clement C. Moore, author of "The Night Before Christmas" (one-half page), William Cobbett, the English Tory who turned radical (one page), Elias Hicks, the dissident Quaker (one and one-half pages), Latin America in New York, as represented by José Maria Heredia, older cousin of the French poet, and Henry Clay (one and one-half pages), Lorenzo da Ponte, the Italian bookseller and impresario (one and one-half pages), Fitz-Greene Halleck and Joseph Rodman Drake (two pages between them), Robert C. Sands (one-half page) and James Kirke Paulding (three and one-half pages). That makes a total of sixteen pages and sixteen names, though many others are mentioned briefly. The twelve remaining pages are devoted to Bryant, except for long passages on Huggins the rhyming barber and on Aaron Burr in his old age. The passage on Bryant is balanced and judicious, mentioning his narrow range as a poet while praising his sincerity and his courage as the first American to write about bobolinks instead of nightingales; but since it quotes only seven lines from all his poems together, it gives no fair picture of his style and, in the end, he is almost lost in the crowd of quaint characters.

This faulty composition extends from the chapters into the paragraphs, and from the paragraphs into the sentences. For example, one paragraph begins: "The attractive Drake had vanished before Cooper or Bryant came to New York, —he died at twenty-five of consumption; but the chilly and limited Halleck was not the only poet there and the

¹ The World of Washington Irving, by Van Wyck Brooks. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 495 pages. \$3.75.

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best known writer after Cooper was James Kirke Paulding." But Paulding was primarily a novelist, not a poet (although he sometimes published doggerel, against the advice of his friends); and the paragraph with this introductory sentence is actually devoted to Robert C. Sands, the author of a versified Indian romance called "Yamoyden." Elsewhere Brooks has shown himself to be the best stylist of all our critics, with the deepest feeling for the resources of the language; but in this book he writes like a man with too many scraps of information in his notebooks. Some of his sentences carry such a burden of factual details that they creak at every comma. At the semicolons they split apart, like cloth at the seams.

Yet in spite of its faults—and I have mentioned them at more than their proportionate length—"The World of Washington Irving" gives a new and, for the first time, an entertaining picture of literary life in the early republic. Moreover, it helps to define what Brooks is trying to do in the series as a whole. He proposes to cover the literary history of the United States from 1800 down to the present day, with New England the only region to be treated in separate volumes. If completed on its present scale, the series will consist of six books, with "Washington Irving" as the first and "The Flowering" as the second. "Indian Summer" will come later, at a point still to be announced; perhaps it will follow the book about the age of Whitman and Melville, on which Brooks is now working. This, incidentally, should prove more stimulating to his imagination and should be easier for him to organize around a central theme.

His literary history will not be, strictly speaking, a history of literature in the United States, considering that it will have little to say about many literary questions. It will tell us how writers lived (though not how they earned their livings), where they went, what they saw and what their friends said about them; it will describe their successive states of soul, often with psychological acuteness; but it will not always tell us what literary problems they faced and how they solved or failed to solve them. Brooks is a very perceptive critic, except when carried away by his opinions; but in the present series he is giving little scope to his critical talents. He never analyzes the imagery or rhythm of a literary work, as F. O. Matthiessen does often and effectively in "The American Renaissance"; he seldom gives the plot or describes the structure of a novel; and he does not even quote passages to illustrate his own statements (except in the footnotes, which are sometimes more illuminating than the text). Nor is he often, in the present series, a critic of ideas in the manner of Vernon L. Parrington. Thus, he tells us that all the important writers of Irving's age were democrats, but he fails to define their different notions of the democratic life; and one could read his fine passage on William Gilmore Simms without suspecting that Simms was an impassioned defender of slavery.

In essence his literary history will be a narrative—that is the key word—which resembles an epic poem and which in any case is a work of art. It does not argue, any more than a good poem argues; it does not analyze or expound; it tells a continued story, with most of its critical judgments implicit in the details, the mood or the emphasis. With all its self-imposed limitations, Brooks's history is

already more impressive than any other large-scale work in its field. Fact after fact and figure after literary figure, the narrative flows on like a river in flood that is still confined within its high banks. We might complain that there are no lakes or waterfalls in all its course, but we cannot fail to admire the strength of this steady current that carries driftwood from another age, each beam or rooftop full of human associations, and each revealed for a moment before sweeping onward into the mist.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Toward a Lasting Peace

The Control of Germany and Japan, by Harold G. Moulton and Louis Marlio. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution. 116 pages. \$2.50.

Our Settlement with Germany, by H. N. Brailsford. New York: The John Day Company. 160 pages. \$1.75.

THE WAVE of Carthaginian peace proposals that has recently swept the United States has carried with it many liberals. To these, there seems to be no other lasting security against the return of German and Japanese aggression. In the heated debates going on at present, the "toughest" school of thought is winning ground.

The two books here under review challenge this trend. The work of the president of Brookings Institution, Dr. Moulton (in collaboration with the French League of Nations' expert, Dr. Marlio), and the essay of the Nestor of the left wing of the British labor movement represent two different worlds. In their analyses they use different methods. Dr. Moulton's elaborate research memorandum is written in simple, quasi-mathematical formulas. Behind its final arguments you sense extensive documentation, the fruits of painstaking institute work. Mr. Brailsford's book is a treatise on contemporary history and the driving forces of this war. It is a human document; it combines the profound knowledge of a great European liberal fighter with the classical political training of the tradition of the Fabian Society. In its detached passion, it is an outcry of the Western conscience and of the sense of responsibility for a lasting solution.

Different as these studies are, it is amazing and encouraging how fundamentally they agree in the more important conclusions. Neither book looks for an ultimate solution in the destruction of the enemy countries, the enemy people and their productive power. Both envisage the ultimate guarantee of their reintegration, after smashing defeat, in a world organization. Both want the defeated to contribute all they can to the one world in the making. Both recommend, as an immediate guarantee, a system of remote economic and military controls as the most promising, if imperfect, system of security. Both reject partitioning, indefinite occupation and wholesale economic dismantling of the enemy countries, because they believe such measures would defeat their ends. The Brookings authors say that they would have disastrous consequences in the victorious world too: "We move forward or backward together." "What a folly to leave any nation without hope," says Mr. Brailsford.

Both are specific and outspoken in rejecting as utopian the recently proposed pastoral solution. "An agricultural

Germany could support probably less than half the present population—even with allowance for an intensification of agricultural methods. What would be done with the remainder? Such an extensive throttling of the economic life of the German area could not fail to react disastrously upon economic conditions in countries with which Germany normally maintains extensive import and export relations." This is the verdict of the Brookings economists. Proposals to dismember German territory or to destroy German industry and in general to prepare "for her people a future so dark that no German who respected himself and loved his children would accept it while he has the strength to fight on," would, according to Mr. Brailsford, in time reproduce the most virile nationalism. Pan-Germanism would become an obsession for the surviving Germans. A smaller India or a larger Ireland, poisoning the center of Europe, would be the result. The responsible statesman has yet to be found who would recommend actual extermination of the 60 to 65 million Germans. Resettlement, forced labor, emigration may solve the problem for some of them. For the others it will be necessary to find a workable plan. The Allied Military Governments have taken on the responsibility. They will be held to account if they do not succeed.

Dr. Moulton and Dr. Marlio maintain that economic control devices must not be permitted to throttle the economic life of the country upon which they are imposed. Economic retrogression means chronic unemployment; chronic unemployment means perpetual social unrest and political tension, and this in turn fosters the spirit of revenge. Moreover, protracted economic depression in any important country inevitably has serious repercussions in others. Economic control measures must be administratively feasible and the minimum necessary to accomplish the essential objectives will produce the optimum results. Therefore, the Brookings authors propose, for Germany, the control of secondary processes in selected industries, *i. e.*, control of the production of aluminum ingots, plus the control of electric-power production, plus the control of synthetic oil and the control of military, commercial and private flying. In Japan's case, it will be sufficient to strip the country of its colonial empire (which is more of a liability than an asset), and to control the air over the Japanese islands. These limited measures will, the authors believe, make the return of aggression on the part of the two volcanic nations impossible for an indefinite time. Disarmament and military control are, of course, prerequisites. After the disarming of the enemy powers, military control should be based on a rearmament detection and prevention board as an agency with the power to act independently within the scope of the delegated authority. The Brookings proposals rely primarily on the maintenance of the United Nations coalition.

Mr. Brailsford, who discusses only Germany in his book, is more skeptical about that; his emphasis is on a democratic revolution in Germany. Only if this revolution does not occur, or does not succeed, does he recommend a similar system of controls. There are important differences in detail. Mr. Brailsford does not believe in permanent mutilation of Germany's aviation. He points to the Moslem states in the Caliphate who forbade the Christians to ride horses. It did not help the Moslem world to keep up this master-race principle for centuries.

In a brief review it is not possible even to give an idea of the wealth and the wisdom of Mr. Brailsford's thoughts. He sees a definitive solution only in a European federation. Brailsford has been heavily attacked for his alleged leniency and softness. It is indeed surprising to find him, for instance, arguing for a new Elba for Hitler. Mr. Brailsford cannot, however, be accused of ever having been an appeaser. You may ask the British Conservatives about that. Though you may disagree with him on some points, as this reviewer does in the matter of punishment of war criminals, you will be deeply challenged by the courage and the superior wisdom of a mind which is, and not for the first time, far ahead of the times. PAUL HAGEN

The Cartel Challenge

Cartels: Challenge to a Free World, by Wendell Berge. Washington: Public Affairs Press. 266 pages. \$3.25.

I WISH there were a better word than "cartel" to dramatize the system of worldwide special privilege in commerce which brought on this war and will cause another unless it is abolished, but it would be difficult to find a better book than Wendell Berge's "Cartels" to describe the methods and effects of the system. Everybody who wants to be well informed should read it, and certainly no one who hopes to make any contribution to the settlement of postwar policy can realize that hope without a knowledge of the facts about international monopoly so clearly set forth in this volume.

"A truly great adventure is ahead," the author tells us in one of the striking sentences in which his book abounds. That adventure is the winning of economic freedom for the world. Blocking the path to that goal, special privilege has raised innumerable obstacles on a global scale for the purpose of compelling all industry, all trade, all commerce to pay tribute to the private organizations which have sought to dominate the business of the whole world.

It was Lord McGowan, chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., of Britain, who, during the visit to England last year of Eric Johnston of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and his party, declared at a luncheon given to the American visitors at the Hotel Savoy that he could see no hope for collaboration between British and American business unless the United States repeals the anti-trust laws. Thus simply is stated the issue of the post-war world. Lord McGowan wants the Sherman Act repealed because as long as it stands, American business cannot legally fully participate in a cartel economy. The principle of the Sherman Act and the principle of the cartel system are diametrically opposed and that is why the Assistant Attorney General says, and in this book proves, that cartels are "a challenge to a free world."

The Sherman Act is the shield of free enterprise. The cartel system is its deadly foe and is also the mother of the authoritarian state. "Totalitarianism," says Berge, "represents simply the ultimate consummation of cartelism—the final, full expression of the reactionary forces stemming from special privilege. In totalitarian states all industrial enterprise is subservient to the predatory interests and fear-dominated will of a government which openly flouts the democratic principle of consent of the governed. . . . Yet,

all too frequently, some of our industrialists have had the effrontery to attempt to promote a pro-cartel policy by a specious appeal for free enterprise."

Because this "specious appeal" of the monopolists is frequently effective with business men who think only of the annoyances and, in many instances, of the hardships they have been compelled to endure at the hands of a government organizing for war, this book performs a most valuable service, for it tells in simple, straightforward language the incredible story of the suppression of trade and commerce by the ruthless policies of those cartel managers who have undertaken, as Berge puts it, "to divide and rule world industry on the basis of economic privilege."

I wish that every citizen of the United States could read this book and learn how one cartel group planned to poison plastics and pigments in order to keep prices up; how another group of alleged American exponents of free enterprise surrendered the whole continent of South America to a German cartel in order to retain for themselves freedom to exploit the American people in the sale of certain drugs.

I wish that every voter in America could read this book and learn how the technique of totalitarian Germany in the regimentation of science in the cause of world domination has been employed in America. Berge's chapter on "Technology" ought to be in every home, as well as the chapter on "Patents." Almost forty years ago Lloyd George, referring to the activities of the German syndicates of his day, declared that they were taking out patents "not for the purpose of working the patents . . . but for the purpose of preventing their being worked." Berge lays the facts on the line and shows how the example of the German cartels has been followed in this country. He tells, for example, how the General Electric Company withdrew an exhibit from the last World's Fair in New York at the demand of a utility because the exhibit was teaching the people that technology had achieved a new lighting device (the fluorescent lamp) which produces the same amount of light at less cost than the Mazda lamp.

There is the story of high-octane gasoline, of synthetic rubber and of optical instruments, showing how the private agreements of American and German cartelists were direct hindrances to the effective defense of the United States.

Then there is the amazing story of the international control of quebracho extract, so necessary in the tanning of leather. Production is artificially restricted and competition suppressed by an international organization operating through a flagrant abuse of the corporate system in such a ruthless way that even shipping lines have refused the business of competitors at the request of the cartelists, whose primary object is to exact tribute from every purchaser of every commodity made of leather.

It has been the skill, the courage, the patriotism and the determination of the people of America to preserve a free world that have made it possible to bring Germany and Japan to the brink of defeat. Political domination of the peoples of the world has not been possible because the people of America would not have it so.

Free government belongs to all. Economic government, under the cartel system, belongs to the few, but there can be no economic domination of the world, just as there can be no political domination of the world, without the acquiescence of the American people. If America and Britain


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" . . . Straightforward, sensitive and impartial . . . she has written as good a biography of Hopkins as we are likely to have." Theodore Spencer, *Saturday Review of Literature*. "To anyone interested in the strange, brilliant, tense poetry of Hopkins . . . I earnestly recommend this book for its wide research into the background of the time in which Hopkins lived, for its awareness of his poetry, and for its directness of narration."—Paul Engle,

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**GERARD
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A Life

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agree now to outlaw restrictive commercial practices after the peace has been won, then indeed will it be possible for mankind to undertake the "truly great adventure" of establishing an expanded economy in which every individual can participate.

Shall American business consent to shackle itself in the future, as some of its spokesmen have done in the past, by entering into international-cartel agreements? Unless this question is answered in the negative, history will repeat itself and the world will again be engulfed in war. Berge's book consists of two hundred and fifty pages of clear-cut reasons why all the people of America should insist that the cartel system shall not be restored when peace is won.

JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

Behind the Steel Wall

Simone, by Lion Feuchtwanger. New York: The Viking Press. 238 pages. \$2.50.

Furlough, by Franz Hoellering. New York: The Viking Press. 251 pages. \$2.50.

The Firing Squad, by F. C. Weiskopf. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 264 pages. \$2.50.

The Cross and the Arrow, by Albert Maltz. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 449 pages. \$2.75.

THE EXIGENCIES of war fiction have brought about the resurgence of a form that achieved wide popularity during the heyday of American "proletarian writing." All four of these stories are built around a change that takes place in the political orientation of the leading character. Like the novels of the thirties that pictured individual breaks with capitalist belief and growth toward class-consciousness, these, too, dwell upon the possibility of secular redemption, describing acts of political or moral regeneration to inspire the indifferent and hearten the faithful.

The temptations that beset the careless or conscienceless novelist who selects this theme are numerous. Feuchtwanger, for example, who should be above some of them, succumbs to nearly all. Not only does he tap reserves of sentimental sympathy in his audience to justify a preposterous heroine, but he converts her from the timid, orphaned niece of a reactionary French business man to a stalwart symbol of French resistance by way of two dreams about Joan of Arc. However, Simone Planchard is not so much a person as a de-luxe wartime frappé, part Maid of Orleans, part Cinderella and part Ludmilla Pavlichenko.

The other three novels are, at least, genuine efforts to get imaginatively behind the steel wall and into the mentality of wartime Germany. They seem to be motivated largely by the desire to salvage whatever human elements are left in the moral shipwreck. In "Furlough" a dyed-in-the-wool Nazi soldier, on the Russian front, obtains a pass to visit his sweetheart back in Dresden, by shooting a grumbling comrade in a fox-hole. The remainder of the book is largely devoted to raising him from this abyss of inhuman ruthlessness to the plane of his ultimate decision to desert the army and fight against his former idols. The transformation is brought about through the crescendo of calamities he witnesses at home. Although the soldier is a creditable portrait of a die-hard Nazi, one feels that the environment in which he moves has been completely wrenched away

from reality to provide leverage for his final, dubious reformation.

By contrast, Weiskopf succeeds remarkably well in rendering the texture of daily existence of his firing squad stationed in Prague; and, with the exception of an overly feudal young baron, the disposition of the minor characters toward the war is struck off with convincing complexity. In particular, an ex-innkeeper and an elderly former customs inspector are refreshingly normal in having political attitudes that are realistically ambivalent, at once gullible and cynical, quiescent and resentful. The leading character, however, has to bear the burden of his author's thesis and tends to droop in consequence.

A rather intelligent, well educated and decent young Sudeten German, Hans Holler, is compelled by circumstances to become a Nazi Party member in 1937 and obey his leaders until his final capture in the retreat from Stalingrad. His compliance is more than external, since he also refrains from any serious doubts as to the truth of the doctrines or the morality of his orders. Weiskopf suspends Hans in this contradictory state of mind by supplying him with a convenient disinclination to think that disappears just in time for a climax of revelation. The belated flash of enlightenment that concludes the narrative is, then, neither persuasive nor symbolic, because the time at which the switch is thrown is arbitrary rather than inevitable.

"The Cross and the Arrow" is a kind of allegorical, detective story written with considerable verve and skill and making for exactly the same kind of impact as Maltz's well known labor plays. It is obtained chiefly by a dramatically effective reduction of personality into sharp ideologic crystals and the manipulation of these for a maximum of pure emotional friction. In the present novel, Willi Wegler, Maltz's monolithic symbol of the average apolitical human being, sets fire to an arrow of hay to guide British planes to a camouflaged factory and is fatally wounded in the act.

While Willi lies in a hospital bed listening for the roar of returning British planes, the local Nazi leader conducts a feverish investigation, fully convinced that the sabotage is the act of a well organized underground cell. The true explanation is adroitly conveyed in a series of flashbacks. Slow, ponderous and decent, Willi's only interest had been to live as a simple human being, paying as little attention as possible to the deeds and vagaries of the state and its leaders: "To remain meek and quiet unless one's daily life became utterly and abominably intolerable—this was Willi's principle, as it is the principle by which most of humankind has always lived." The act, then, was a purely individual response, Willi's deliberate choice of death in preference to life under a regime that daily inflicted a new participation in moral disgrace upon him.

Willi Wegler, the peasant woman who is his counterpart, Pastor Frisch, a courageous disciple of Niemoller, and the fanatic local Nazi leader are as evocative as the figures in "Everyman" and have about as much reference to reality. Maltz manages to maintain a good deal of two-dimensional suspense that is marred only by the fact that the novel inevitably gives rise to considerable reflection outside the frame of action. Such reflection halts the drama long enough for the reader to realize that most of the generalizations on which the allegory is based (such as the one quoted) are either platitudes or falsehoods.

WILLIAM POSTER

Negro Revolutionary

Citizen Toussaint, by Ralph Korngold. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 358 pages. \$3.

STILL A SLAVE AT FORTY, Toussaint Louverture died at fifty-nine in the stronghold of Fort de Joux, a political prisoner of such importance that Napoleon, the most powerful man in Europe, had been constrained to charge his Ministers of War and of Marine, his Ministers of General Police and of Justice, with responsibility for Louverture's safekeeping. But the fire that Napoleon most feared would be lit from the flame of this man's genius was already a conflagration, wiping out the First Consul's dream of empire in "the Paradise of God." When Toussaint died, the slaves of San Domingo were again in revolt, and in 1803, having lost 63,000 men of the Grand Army and hundreds of millions of francs, the French withdrew. All the resources of imperial France had not been enough to put out the fire of liberty.

One could say merely that "Citizen Toussaint" is a biography of Toussaint Louverture, sometimes (though only those who do it can tell why) called the Black Napoleon; and, doubtless, some will say just that and think that they have neatly tied this book into a handy package. But the package, though handy, simply will not bear carrying. In the first place the book is much more than a biography, as any book dealing with so important a figure must of necessity be. It is history. It is the history of a revolution, that same revolution which Lothrop Stoddard called the French Revolution in San Domingo. In the second place, to call Louverture the Black Napoleon is like calling Hannibal the Black Caesar. When you have as much military genius as Toussaint had, you need no implied comparison to make you great. Moreover, when one has high claim (as Toussaint has) to humanitarian instincts, a comparison to Napoleon is hardly flattering.

One comes to a treatment of Toussaint Louverture with certain misgivings, for the Negro revolutionary has been often treated badly. He has been treated exotically, like the dancing girls of Bali. He has also been used to prove a number of things, among them that even the "first of the blacks" was not a very good white man. But after the first chapter of Ralph Korngold's study, misgivings vanish, and one knows that he is reading the kind of book that professional scholars talk about but never write—a work of scholarship that reads like first-rate fiction.

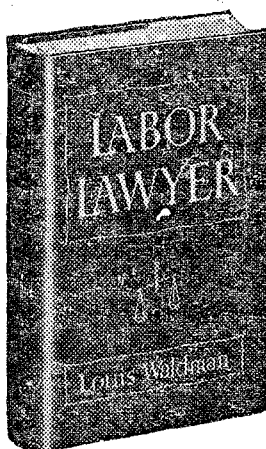
J. SAUNDERS REDDING

A Reader's List

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM, by Friedrich A. Hayek (Chicago, \$2.75). Mr. Hayek firmly believes that we can have economic paradise if only the spontaneous economic forces of society are given free rein. The abdication of laissez-faire, he argues, means the abandonment of all the high ideals of Western civilization. Hayek's deep concern with the preservation of individual liberties is admirable, yet his myopic economic philosophy ignores obvious historical fact. Modern industrial serfdom, he asserts, originates in planning. The failure of liberal capitalism to solve persistent problems is of no special import. Planning, socialism, totali-

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BOOKLET

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, and March 3, 1933, of The New Republic, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1st, 1944.

STATE OF NEW YORK)
COUNTY OF NEW YORK) SS.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Daniel Mebane, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The New Republic and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:
Publisher, Editorial Publications, Inc., 40 E. 49th St., New York, N. Y.
Editor, Bruce Bliven, 40 E. 49th St., New York, N. Y.
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Business Manager, Daniel Mebane, 40 E. 49th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are:
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DANIEL MEBANE,

Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of September, 1944.

MARIAN T. KEENAN, Notary Public.

My commission expires March 30, 1945.

itarianism, Stalinism and Nazism are really quite the same: planners, therefore, are Nazis. This kind of thinking is essentially a parade of platitudes and an abysmal distortion of history. Mr. Hayek is a bit more progressive than his fellow individualist, Ludwig von Mises: Hayek says we need but return to nineteenth-century ways to assure the restoration of harmony and prosperity. A minimum social-security program and some public works are graciously accepted as crutches for this Victorian structure. Mr. Hayek looks at things in the long run; he forgets that in the long run we shall all be dead.

NO MEAN CITY, by Simeon Strunsky (Dutton, \$3). New York is no mean city, and Mr. Strunsky extols its beauties and tries to register its intricacies with the skill of the connoisseur. More precisely, it is chiefly Manhattan that he describes in a witty, often aphoristic manner, for only one out of forty chapters is devoted to the other boroughs. The author deals with the various racial and religious strata that compose the population, with their peculiar ways of speaking and eating, with the policeman and the gangster, the politician and the shoeshine boy, the big boss and the little child. Occasionally Mr. Strunsky's panegyrics paint things in gay colors where darker shades would be more appropriate, and his slogan, "Democracy in general is what Americans do," inevitably leads to camouflaging social miscreations that should have been criticized frankly.

Contributors

JAMES LOEB JR. is the executive secretary of the Union for Democratic Action.

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE, consulting engineer, is co-author, with Philip Murray, of "Organized Labor and Production." He recently served as chairman of a committee appointed by President Roosevelt to determine travel time in bituminous coal mining. His new book, "Brazil on the March," has just been published by Whittlesey House.

PAUL HAGEN, a member of the Council for a Democratic Germany, has spent eleven years in the service of the German underground movement in Germany and abroad. His most recent book, "Germany After Hitler," was published by Farrar and Rinehart.

JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY, United States Senator from Wyoming, has served since 1934. He was chairman of the Temporary National Economic Committee during its three years of life. His bill to control the operation of international cartels is pending in the Senate.

WILLIAM POSTER is a free-lance writer. His book reviews have appeared in The New York Herald Tribune, The New York Times and The New Republic.

J. SAUNDERS REDDING, whose book, "No Day of Triumph," won the Mayflower Award, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1944-1945. He is a member of the English faculty at Hampton Institute.

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